THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

April 9, 1949

ABUNDANCE FOR ALL

AN EDITORIAL

Will China Become A Satellite?

Edgar Snow

Java Today

Frances M. Earle

Educational Changes In Peiping

Yu Wah

STUDENT TRAGEDY

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 113 GY2,500 NUMBER 6

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Atlantic Pact

To The Editor:

What is the explanation for the Atlantic Pact? The super-rich of Wall Street are all war mongers and all their talk of peace is a lie. The truth is that these reactionary elements are making the United States use a number of countries as bridgeheads and military bases for an aggressive war.

The countries included in the pact intend to establish a large anti-communist bloc to threaten Russia and save themselves from the fate of their rotten capitalistic system. They allege that they will fight aggression in Europe or North America by collective armed action. What is this if not a challenge to other countries?

Although each of the articles in the treaty seems to speak righteously and beautifully for international peace and security, the treaty violates the charter of the United Nations and is paving the way toward war.

Undoubtedly, this belligerent action will provoke all the peace-loving peoples in the world to resist and hate. The war-makers' dream of dominating the world will be but a dream, for the western peoples mostly are being taken into the pact against their will. Once World War III breaks out, an internal split will hasten the collapse of these warlike countries. Therefore, I advise the leader of the signatory countries, the United States, not to be proud of the establishment of such a treaty.

Tung Wei-wen

Soochow, Kiangsu
March 27, 1949

Formosan Question

To The Editor:

On March 25 Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, China's former Education Minister and Foreign Minister, said before the Rotarians in Taipeh, Formosa, where he has been seeking shelter from the worsening civil war, that Formosa is China's "recovered territory." To clarify the legal status of the island he astutely based China's claim on 1) the Chinese Government's declaration of war against Japan in December, 1941; 2) the Cairo declaration of 1943; and 3) the instrument of the Japanese surrender in 1945.

The erudite authority on Constitutional Law, however, failed to clarify the issue as to whether China's recovery of Formosa should have been fraternal reunion postulating liberty, equality, and fraternity or should be colonial reconquest justifying oppression, discrimination, and exploitation. Being an earnest diplomat and an honest educator himself, he would certainly have assured the Formosans and the rest of the world of all prerequisites of fraternal reunion before VJ Day. On the contrary, the Chinese regime established in the island under corrupt incumbents has since its taking-over committed the worst vices that have ever appeared in human history — speculation and embezzlement, extortion and blackmailing, robbery and genocide. Dr. Wang

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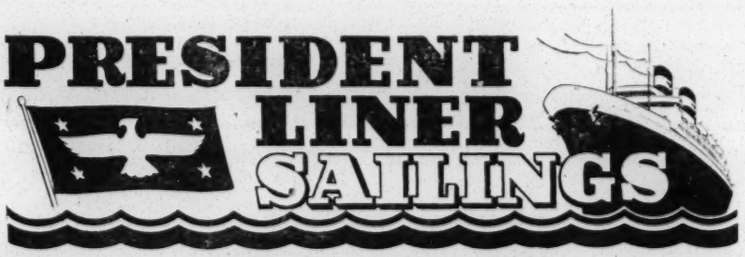

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is therefore cordially invited to answer the question as to whether or not present-day China as represented in the limelight mostly by scoundrels, while preaching reunion practises reconquest with her 3,000 years' morals drowned in three years' tyranny in Formosa, has automatically forfeited her claim to the island *in toto*.

For three odd years the Chinese have demonstrated their inability to rule and unwillingness to improve, which has killed every iota of Formosan loyalty and enthusiasm. As they have misruled the country and misguided the people, the Formosans now want to govern themselves and direct their own destiny. If any territorial change must be in accord with popular wishes properly expressed as provided for by the Atlantic Charter, the Formosans certainly must have retained the Right of Self-Determination—one of the basic human rights which even the UN cannot possibly explain away, let alone any constitutional authority!

In short, if China has no right to reconquest and Formosa has the right to self-determination, Dr. Wang should not have been so coy in confusing education with sophistication and diplomacy with hypocrisy.

A FORMOSAN LAWYER.

Taichung
March 29, 1949

Chungking Affair

To The Editor:

The recent desertion of the cruiser, Chungking, trump card of the Chinese navy, has attracted considerable attention throughout the country. According to the press, an official report by a Control Yuan member who was appointed to make an investigation into the incident stated that the desertion was due to the crew's discontent over a new captain appointed to command the ship. This explanation looks very much like a whitewashing of the affair.

According to the report, the newly-appointed captain was not so well qualified as the old captain, Teng Shao-chang, and belonged to a different clique from that of the crew. Therefore the crew staged the desertion in protest. It is hardly believable, however, that a change of boss should have driven the whole crew to such a risky course as desertion with the threat of intensive air bombing from pursuing government planes.

One must remember that the corruption and inefficiency of the Nationalist Government has aroused terrific discontent and opposition, not only among the masses of the people but also among the armed forces. Furthermore, men in the services are beginning to understand that the present Civil war is simply to preserve the interests of the privileged few—landlords and bureaucrats. Hence such incidents as the desertion of the Chungking occur and are still occurring. These incidents show the war-weariness of the people and their opposition to the misrule of the Government.

It was sad indeed to learn that a ship with the World War II record of the Chungking, then the Aurora, which sank the Nazi battleship "Bismarck" and more than a dozen Italian transports should have ended up by being sunk in the Civil War. What will our British friends who made this gift to us think of this?

J. H. H.

Hoiping, Kwangtung
March 27, 1949

Late Lamented

To The Editor:

The *China Magazine*—a slick-paper pocket-size monthly published in New York City by the *Chinese News Agency* has finally taken the count. No men-

tion was made of the suspension of publication in its February, and last, issue so the decision must have been sudden. Possibly the orders came from Nanking.

In any event the gong has saved the editors of the magazine from the dangers of a split personality. The monthly, being published by an agency of the Chinese Government, naturally enough was among the most ardent apologists and defenders of the Nanking Government in the United States—not an easy task since the war's end, and especially these last few months. Naturally it had heavily under-scored the "Bandit Suppression Campaign" while the term was still fashionable. One filler item in its January issue still managed to refer slightingly to the Eighth Route Army as "rebel forces." But with events on the other side of the Pacific getting more and more difficult to explain, the editors were facing an obvious dilemma.

As a house organ of a Government which was technically in an ambiguous position until receipt of instructions to the contrary, it continued to sound the old battle cries. What could the editors do but print in full an address delivered by Ambassador Wellington Koo on December 1st of last year including such flights of oratory as "....But aid or no aid China is firmly resolved to fight to the bitter end against Communist domination with all its terrorism and vandalism.... As in the past so in the future there will always be a China whose people by their love of peace, justice and freedom and by their admiration of the American way of life are passionately fond of like-minded American people. But they would rather suffer and sacrifice in the hope of escaping servitude than endure Communist dictatorship and enslavement...."

A "Message to the People of North China" by General Fu Tso-yi made on November 12th and expressing some more of the same general sentiments and ending on the hackneyed note of pseudo-prophecy—"There can be only one truth; the fight to save our nation, our people and ourselves, that is the Communist Suppression Campaign will inevitably succeed...." had to appear in the January issue—same month that saw the negotiated surrender of Peiping by the same General Fu.

The February issue of this pocket guide to China as seen through the eyes of Nanking, managed to include President Chiang's statement on retirement with a number of articles on the same line of resistance to and villification of the Kunchantang. Suspension of publication is a huge straw in the wind of the confusion that must reign in the Ministry of Information at Nanking. At the moment there doesn't seem to be any coherent story they can present in the United States without appearing ludicrous.

China Magazine since VJ Day had been no more and no less than a propaganda sheet with an occasional article of a non-political nature interesting to the American reader. The passing of this distorted press mirror of China from the American scene is not likely to be lamented or even noticed.

S. E. SHIFRIN

Seattle, Washington
March 23, 1949

Bad Discipline

To The Editor:

The discipline of the soldiers here is getting worse by the day. General Li Mo-an, the commanding officer of the 17th Pacification Bureau, has admitted that he cannot control them. The following are some of the incidents that have occurred:

The soldiers have cut down all the trees within a 10-li radius in the area

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where they are stationed. Since most people depend on the trees for firewood, you can imagine what a hardship this has caused.

The company often stations a sentry on the main road to search the people passing by, and if they possess anything valuable such as a gold ring, watch or fountain pen, he "takes it over." Now no one dares go along the road after dark.

Recently two soldiers were sent to investigate a certain case in the village of Yang-ma Chia not far from the hsien city. Since they have no right to engage in such activities, the people made them go away. The following day eight armed men led by the company commander came to the village, seized 30 innocent people and took them away to the Hsiang chief office, where they are being held until the families ransom them for 50 silver dollars. The hsien councillor went to try to mediate the case and was told that the people under arrest were held responsible for the disappearance of the two soldiers (which is not true) and that they must give at least 30 rifles as reparation for the loss. The councillor already had offered the soldiers 300 piculs of rice. The matter is still not settled.

In the western part of Hunan, the soldiers also have lost all discipline and have taken food, oil and even mattresses from the people without payment.

Whimer Li

Lihsien, Hunan
March 15, 1949

Farmers' Army

To The Editor:

I am a medical college student with little money, and had been studying at Hsiang Ya Medical College in South China. When I recently contracted a

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disease, I had to leave college and come to Nan Yao, one of the five big mountains in China, for cure.

Now I want to give you the following information about Hunan, and hope you will send me a free copy of your *Review*, as I no longer see it at the library.

In the history of China, Hunan people have always been the pioneers of every revolution for the benefit of all China. They are considered ultra-modern and cosmopolitan.

Since the present civil war has spread so extensively, prices have sky-rocketed and taxes have grown increasingly heavy. Now, to ward against a famine in the spring, more than 2,000 farmers have organized themselves into an "Army of the People" to fight against conscription and taxation of foodstuffs.

First they fought at Yungling, and later at the three cities of Mu-young, Luki, and Sinki. A weapons factory was raided and 8,000 rifles taken at Sinki. They have now become so strong that the two regiments of Nationalist troops are no match for them. The Kuomintang should realize now the Bandit Suppression Campaign is of no use.

Y. C. CHENG.

Nanyao, Hunan
March 12, 1949

American Aid

To The Editor:

The present attempt is inspired by a reading of C.Y.W. Meng's article, "A Chinese View of American Aid," in the March 19, 1949, issue of the *China Weekly Review*. The writer in China enjoys the distinction of being at one and the same time a citizen of this country and of the United States. He has no political axe to grind....

From the time of his adolescence he has devoted himself to efforts to helping China become a free, independent, prosperous and progressive country.....If China can attain this end by any aid from America, he wants to see America give this aid unstintedly to the greatest possible extent. Mr. Meng seems to think that American aid should cease because, presumably, American aid is producing the opposite effect.....

I must be suffering from what Mr. Meng called "Uncle Sam's mental bankruptcy," because I cannot make sense out of his allegations.....

When he states that present American aid prolongs "our civil war" and interferes with a "peaceful movement for political and social change in China," I can't understand it. I don't understand how a civil war, in which unnumbered thousands of combatants and non-combatants are killed and maimed, can be called a "peaceful movement."

Being "mentally bankrupt," I cannot understand how American aid, which is designed to lessen human suffering in China and to promote economic and educational growth within the country, can be interpreted into meaning that such aid has the effect of operating against "political freedom, economic equality and social security for all peoples."

....Now, it has appeared to me that the American aid to China heretofore given was and is given to a dynamic consciousness of "a changing China, a progressive China, and a new China"—the very kind of China that America and all men of goodwill wish to see China become....Mr. Meng will place me under a debt of gratitude to him if he will be so kind as to show me how American aid prevents, or tends to impede, efforts to make China change and become new and progressive.

He hits the point, however, when he says that America aims to counteract Communism. What's wrong with that? The American nation was founded on the principles that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Does Communism stand for these principles? Look at Soviet Russia today. It is the classic example of what Communism is....Does it stand for "political freedom, economic equality and social security for all peoples?" Why, then, do its people try so hard to escape from this political heaven—even at the risk of their lives?

....But the contention seems to be that China today is ruled by a group of "extreme rightists," "reactionary ruling classes," and "corrupt regimes." Unfortunately, this is all too true. That's why China has been brought to her present sorry pass. My question to Mr. Meng is this: What choice have the Chinese people? Is there any other choice than that of accepting Communist dictatorship, or doing everything possible, with whatever outside help is available, to reform a Government presently dominated by "extreme rightists" and "reactionary ruling classes?"

.....Does Mr. Meng wish to imply that the Communist regime that now threatens the whole of China is not Communist in the sense that we understand the Moscow model—that, in fact, it is a regime truly devoted to "political freedom, economic equality, and social security for all peoples?" If it is, I want to know it quickly, because I've been opposing that regime....and if the present overlords of Peiping are for these, I'm with them.

Mr. Meng can prove this promptly, and remove all my doubts. All he has to do is to go up to Peiping, and induce *The China Weekly Review* to do the same. If he and *The China Weekly Review* can go up there and lambast the Communist regime for its wrongs (as I suppose there are some), as both have so successfully been pasting the Kuomintang Government for its sins (of which there are undoubtedly many)—with impunity—he can persuade me to believe that we are watching a "civil war" that is only a "peaceful movement for political and social change." And I'll write home to my folks and tell them to pester the life out of our Congressmen and Senators until they stop aid to China.

E. K. MOY.

Canton
March 27, 1949

(We think reader Moy, a war-time general in the Nationalist Army, and a great and good friend of General Chennault, does have a political axe to grind. If not, we hope he will wait with us to observe at first hand the good or bad points of the Communists, who seem to be well on the way to winning the Civil War whether or not there is American aid—Editor.)

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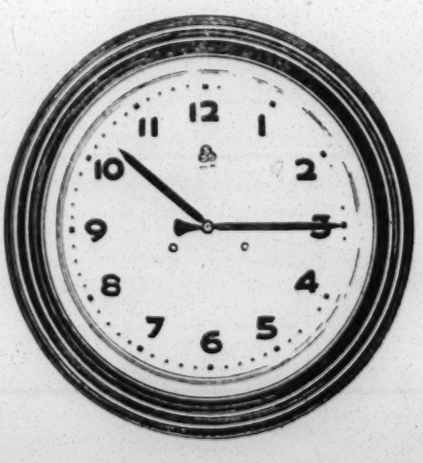

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Feudal Justice

To The Editor:

It was gratifying to read your editorial "Feudal Justice" in the March 26 issue of the *Review*. You expressed what many people want to but dare not say.

For other measures of General Tang En-po, I should like to add the following which he effected in Honan: In order to eliminate armed resistance, he disbanded the Honan Militia by either assassinating their leaders (for example, Pi Jing Fang) or driving them to the front as cannon fodder. He also used farmers' wheat fields as drilling grounds and farmers were killed by shrapnel when his army practiced shooting.

The chapter "Honan Famine" in Annalee Jacoby's and Theodore White's book "Thunder Out of China" carries more details on General Tang En-po's activities.

P. M. L.

Shanghai
March 27, 1949

Disparities

To The Editor:

Because of the wide disparity between the rich and the poor, it is hard for the former to understand how hard things are for the latter.

A French writer speaks of a duchess who once visited a convent too poor to have a fire to warm the building. Shivering with cold, the duchess felt great sympathy for the nuns at the convent, and ordered firewood to be sent to them. After warming herself at the fire in her home, she gradually began to forget the misery at the convent. When the servant inquired how much firewood she wished to have sent, she said, "Oh, never mind, it is going to be warmer soon."

And a similar instance in China is mentioned. During the Boxer Revolt the Empress Dowager escaped to Sian, where she was directly acquainted with the hardships of the people. She was greatly moved by their poor circumstances and promised to improve their standard of living by reducing taxes and exempting them from extra taxes. On returning to Peiping, she was asked how the free tax was to be decided, and she replied, "Oh, wait! Peace has come back to the world and people are going to enjoy themselves very well."

Such mistakes come from ignorance and the wide difference of the standard of living between the poor and the rich.

SHERWOOD LIAO.

Changsha, Hunan
March 20, 1949

Good Faith

To The Editor:

Because the civil war keeps interrupting communications, it takes at least 10 days for the *Review* to get here through the mails. I keep thinking that if there were no war I should be able to get your magazine more easily.

Everything here keeps getting worse and worse because of the political and economic situation. The only way the present crisis can be relieved is through peace. I would advise the Government to use good faith with the Communist Party, and as a college student I say loudly to the Government, "Quickly, give us peace."

WOO MING-FU.

Kweiyang, Kweichow
March 17, 1949

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
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The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

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Abundance For All

HENRY WALLACE, former US vice-president and recent unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, has suggested that the United States and Soviet Russia cooperate in making China a testing ground for a program of "abundance for all peoples." Mr. Wallace then went on to say that neither communism nor capitalism can solve the problem of want until "both, by agreement, get rid of the spirit of intolerance".

We can imagine the reaction of many people to Mr. Wallace's proposal, which was made to a meeting of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York. The Conference, even before it began meeting, was labeled by the American State Department as a vehicle for the spread of communist propaganda. With such a prejudiced approach by an important American governmental organization, it is likely that the suggestions made by Wallace and others will be labeled in many quarters as red propaganda, impractical, foolish, etc. Many of Wallace's earlier proposals have met similar receptions. For example, we remember when, as Secretary of Commerce in the last Roosevelt administration, Wallace said that the American postwar economy could be so geared as to provide 60,000,000 jobs. Newspaper editorialists, columnists, and various public figures hooted in derision, claiming that this was another example of "Henry's dreaming." Since the end of the war, American employment figures have frequently been well above the 60,000,000 mark.

Despite the allegations of those who claim that there are so many people in the world today that they cannot be fed adequately, we think that Wallace's idea of Russo-American cooperation in China to attempt to provide a program of "abundance" for all the Chinese people is no more of a "dream" or "vision" than his earlier idea that the American economy could provide jobs for 60,000,000 workers.

The end of the Civil War in this country should contribute greatly to China's ability to feed and clothe herself. In years past, the country's annual food deficit was not so great in normal seasons. The cessation of fighting, which would mean the end of huge non-productive armies and a chance for the farmers once again to tend their fields in peace, should provide a tremendous boost to the local economy. Added to this a program of foreign help, which would provide capital and improved techniques, and China should soon be on the road to self-sufficiency. Even if she cannot economically raise sufficient food, other industries working for the export trade can be developed so that she will acquire sufficient foreign exchange to buy her additional food requirements from surplus areas abroad.

We grant that the population pressure in this country constitutes a major problem which will have to be met in the very near future, especially if any improvement in living conditions for the masses results in population increases of such rapidity as to "eat up" the surplus. However, there is a good chance, we believe, that modern production techniques may enable the nation to keep ahead of population growth for some time. Daily headlines in the local press would indicate that. A report from Manila recently described an experiment with enriched rice which may provide the answer to beri-beri, an indiginous disease in Asia's rice eating countries. The added nourishment provided by enriched rice might also go a long way toward eliminating the many other diet deficiency diseases and ailments commonly found in China.

In the US, where mechanization is almost taken for granted, new innovations in agriculture are being tried out each year. Cotton growing, which is a big industry in China, too, is being mechanized rapidly in the US with machines now available for most of the work. While progress is slow and the trial and error process is still going on, a recent press dispatch from Washington reported that "mechanization of the cotton crop has now been accomplished experimentally at every stage from the seed-bed to the market." Think of the labor such a development would free for industry in China!

The world, especially the United States, now has for the first time in the history of mankind sufficient tools to manufacture from nature enough materials to feed, clothe, and house all people. It is no longer necessary for a large section—perhaps even a majority—of the world's population to live on a subsistence level. Proof of this can be obtained from a glance at the official expenditure figures for the last war. Enough money, representing actual industrial and agricultural production, was spent by the powers for military means to have raised the standard of living of the respective countries immeasurably.

According to the "World Almanac," the total amount spent by the six principal belligerents (not including China for which no estimates were available) was US$1,116,991,463,084. Added to this was an estimate of US$230,900,000,000 representing property damage. US$1,347,891,463,084 would, for example, easily provide adequate housing and clothing for every man, woman, and child in China. The possibilities of what could be done with such a sum are staggering. It should also be remembered that this fabulous sum represents money which the govern-

ments of the principal powers were able to extract from the people over and above their daily requirements. In the case of the United States, the people supplied the surplus wealth without much, if any pain, while in other countries, such as Germany, Italy and Japan, it was obtained as a result of great privation.

In any event, the mere fact that the countries of the world could afford to spend such a staggering sum and to suspend or curtail normal productive activities for up to six years proves conclusively that mankind now is able to produce yearly a considerable surplus of materials above the basic minimum requirements. The fact that such "surplus" wealth is not used for the benefit of mankind in relieving want and in improving the machinery of production reflects upon the intelligence of the governments of the world.

The United States is today spending prodigious sums on self defense, unsound foreign relief programs, and military aid schemes for other countries under the provisions of treaties such as the North Atlantic Pact. This money would easily abolish poverty and want in the United States if spent properly. What's more—as the war years proved—the natural wealth and highly-developed productive machine of the United States would enable it alone to contribute greatly toward eliminating want in the rest of world.

The factors hampering Russo-American cooperation on a plan to provide an abundance for the many people suffering from want are largely political, and these political reasons in turn stem largely from the narrow selfish interests of certain partisans who actually do not care about the welfare of the masses. This is indeed a sad commentary upon our time.

Another Student Tragedy

AT LEAST one student has died as a result of injuries received during a fight in Nanking when a group of soldiers attacked a student parade. It is disheartening to see students in Nationalist China once again becoming the victims of violence, especially during a time when the Nationalist Government has in actuality sued for peace. If nothing else, it makes one wonder about the sincerity of the rulers who day in and day out for the past few months have been publicly stressing their desire for peace.

While only the naive would believe that the Nanking regime would have become so desirous of peace if it still had its armies intact, its economy on a sound footing, and its people under firm control, one may even become suspicious of the Government's intentions if it allows students to be beaten and killed for expressing a desire for peace. Since the Government has in fact already dispatched a mission to Peiping to discuss peace terms with the Communists, why should the same Government frown upon student demonstrations or parades favoring an end to hostilities?

The Nanking municipal authorities, presumably controlled by acting-President Li Tsung-jen, it must be admitted, have finally taken a more reasonable view of the situation than elsewhere. In Nanking, it is reported, the authorities have decreed the death penalty for any soldier caught attacking students. Meanwhile, in Shanghai the authorities continue to view the students as Communist agents and to warn them against any demonstrations or parades.

About the only conclusion one can draw is that the Kuomintang authorities, who are talking peace with one hand and beating students with the other, either are hypocrites or are actually so stupid that they cannot see the ridiculous contradictions with which they are surrounding themselves.

Irresponsible Behavior

AS the tempo of the "cold war" between the United States and Russia mounts, each nation appears more and more to be carrying a chip on its shoulder. If this tendency continues, there is virtually no chance of averting war. Living in this atmosphere, we perhaps become accustomed to new "outrages," new political and economic maneuvers, threats, reactions, etc., but the fact remains that relations have been strained to a dangerous degree, despite the oft heard remark that since no one *really* wants war, there will be no war.

It appears to us that there is an excellent chance of war, although almost everyone realizes full well what a new war would cost in terms of human suffering and material destruction. There comes a point when one more insult, one more threat, one more little incident sets in motion a train of events which quickly culminate in war. This has been the history of the beginnings of many previous conflicts. World War I, it will be recalled, began from one small incident which, unfortunately, occurred at a time when relations were strained. If our memory of history books serves us right, the German Kaiser, although long following a certain path toward war, was most reluctant to take the final step when Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph called upon him to honor Germany's treaty obligations. In fact, the Kaiser is supposed to have made a last minute attempt to persuade the Emperor of Austria from carrying out his plans for hostilities.

World War II began with somewhat more deliberate calculation upon the part of the Germans, although there is some reason to believe that Hitler, having managed to run through a good part of Europe without provoking Britain and France, perhaps thought he could get away with another conquest without war.

In the case of Japan's attack upon the United States, which was perhaps one of the greatest open acts of violence in modern times, the situation was somewhat different. However, with the benefit of hindsight, it is possible now to go through the back files of newspapers covering periods when war has started and to see that a conflict was obviously in the offing, no matter how much of a surprise it may have seemed at the time. We think that if an observer, not conditioned to scare headlines in his

daily paper, were to pick up, say, a file of any metropolitan American newspaper for the past three years and skim through it, he would come to the conclusion that step by step the world was preparing for a new war and that if, upon turning to tomorrow's paper, he saw that war had broken out, he would not be particularly surprised.

If war comes tomorrow it will not be because Russia or America actually wanted to begin a conflict that would be sure to cost far more than either could gain. It would be because both nations, behaving at times in the most childish manner, have insulted each other so extensively, laid down so many ultimatums and in general progressed so far toward an open rupture that they had reached a state where neither behaved entirely rationally. It has long been our opinion that if the Americans and Russians were able to see themselves in the same light as they view each other, the perspectives of both might be improved.

We were appalled recently by a *United Press* story from Washington which read in part: "It was revealed today that the Budget Bureau was considering a Defense Department recommendation for expansion of an Air Force fleet of B-36 'inter-continental' super-bombers. The proposal was based in part on conclusions from recent tests, all conducted under combat conditions, that the mammoth aircraft is virtually immune from interception and has a range to attack any Russian target from North American bases..... Military planners have marked off some 70 strategic targets in Russia as possible objectives in the event of war."

This story has passed with little if any comment in the American press, although there was some criticism by a few members of Congress. However, their objection to it was not what one might expect. Rather, they censured the Defense Department because the publication of the news "jeopardized" national security in that it gave away a military secret!

It seems almost unbelievable that such a statement could be made by a responsible American Government agency and perfectly fantastic that the only criticism of it from the people's elected representatives was that a military secret had been let out of the bag. Just suppose, for instance, that the setting had been Russia instead of America. Suppose that in presenting its military budget to the Soviet Government, the Russian Airforce had said it needed money for a very special plane, one that could bomb any part of the United States and that, in fact, the Russian Army had already marked out 70 cities such as New York, Chicago, St. Louis, etc. for bombing in event of war. The American Congress and press would be howling to high heavens and demanding that the State Department dispatch a stern note to Moscow ordering a satisfactory explanation forthwith. How different it would be if it were the other guy!

Likewise, how would the Russians react if it had been British sentries in Austria who knocked down two Russian soldiers for stepping across an imaginary line on a sidewalk in Vienna and then kicked them into insensibility? Moscow would this minute be denouncing it as another calculated plot by the imperialists to disturb the peace of the world. The extent to which we have progressed can easily be seen by the almost daily blasts of viturperation hurled at one another by the information media of the East and West. Moscow denounces the "imperialist aggressors" for questioning "democratic" Russia's peaceful aims. The most insulting statements are made about the United States, and at the same time hurt and alarm are expressed over the "unjustified" criticism by America of Russia. Exactly the reverse takes place almost every morning in the United States.

A war between the East and the West is as unnecessary today as it ever was. There are few basic differences that could not be solved by men of common sense and good will sitting around a conference table. However, from present indications, it doesn't appear that such a solution will be found. Each accuses the other of bad faith, while proclaiming his own spotless innocence. Each proclaims that if he backs down now, or even expresses a desire to negotiate, the other will interpret it as a sign of weakness and attempt to take advantage of it. With such unreasonable attitudes prevailing and with each side arming as fast as it can, the future looks very gloomy.

People's Rights Protected

GENERAL HO YING-CHIN, China's new premier, has issued instructions to the Shanghai Police Bureau ordering that henceforth illegal arrests shall be prohibited and that the "people's freedom" shall be protected. The order, it is reported, has been received by the local authorities and Police Commissioner Mao Sen has circulated it to all police departments with the notation that they are to abide by it.

General Ho, it is said, emphasized protection of the physical freedom of the people and pointed out that arrests should only be made by the judicial and police authorities in accordance with the legal procedure as provided in Article 8 of the Chinese Constitution. He is reported to have deplored the fact that the constitutional provision was not strictly adhered to by various organizations during the period of mobilization and that illegal arrests were reported. In order to respect the constitution and to render protection to the people, no repetition of the past undesirable practices will be tolerated, General Ho admonished.

This is indeed welcome news. Perhaps the most significant part of the whole order is that it instructs the authorities to govern their actions by the provisions of the constitution. This is one of the few public acknowledgements by a prominent official in recent months that the Government is bound by the constitution. In fact, we have hardly heard it mentioned since

it was adopted with great fanfare some two years ago. The last time it figured in the news was when some local victims last fall had the courage to complain about their treatment at the hands of the authorities whom, they said, were not abiding by the constitution. The reply, as we recall, was that it was nonsense to talk about the constitution at such a critical period in the bandit suppression campaign because it had long since been superceded by the provisions of the national emergency. It was implied that those who persisted in harping upon the constitution's provisions for personal freedom might be suspected as Communist agents trying to disturb the public's mind.

Now, however, all seems changed. The second most important Nationalist official has issued a stern warning to local officials telling them that they must carry out their duties in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. This is a great step forward and it is to be hoped that General Ho will now turn his attention to some of the other provisions of the constitution.

For instance, the constitution guarantees freedom of the press. However, according to a story in the *Shanghai Evening Post* of March 24, the unbelievable total of 185 magazines have been banned by the Nanking-Shanghai-Hangchow Garrison Headquarters and the Bureau of Social Affairs. Under General Ho's plan to return to constitutional government, it would follow that such restrictions upon the press would have to be lifted. It is to be hoped that the new premier will shortly issue further instructions to the officials concerned.

During Sun Fo's tenure of office the complaint was frequently made that military and other local officials refused to carry out the orders of the Nanking Government whenever such orders conflicted with the views of the authorities concerned. Now, with one of China's best known generals holding the premiership, local officialdom should be more amenable to instructions from above, especially since General Ho has at one time or another been the superior officer of most of the generals still holding commands in Kuomintang China. No longer, presumably, can local potentates escape orders from above by stating that they do not conform with the Government's policy of seeking peace through strength or other excuses such as the people in Nanking cannot appreciate the problems of the local commanders. Premier Ho is a military man with a long record as number two Kuomintang general, ranking just behind the Generalissimo. In fact the Communist radio has had a lot to say about General Ho, having at various times referred to him as a bandit, a criminal and as a prime instigator of the anti-Communist Civil War. It seems clear now that General Ho is the boss. Whatever happens from now on is his responsibility. He has seen fit to order Kuomintang officialdom to observe the constitution insofar as the people's physical freedom is concerned. Let us hope that he pursues this policy a bit further.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

April 5, 1934

Chamber Of Commerce Report

In presenting the annual Report, the Chairman said in part:

".....During January of this year, the various newspapers in China published a letter written by Secretary of State Hughes to Mr. George Lockwood, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, which shows that the Administration at Washington is aware of the seriousness of the Chinese situation.....Secretary Hughes' letter in part reads as follows:

"'The difficulty of the situation in the Far East, as you will perceive, lies in the weakness of the Chinese Government. We have done what we could to strengthen it and to give it the opportunity for development, but that development must of necessity take place within. It is not possible for the powers to create a government for China or to substitute with any hope of success a government through their own agencies. The utmost which they may hope to do is to bring the Chinese authorities to a realization of their responsibilities and give such assistance (even though it should be against the will of certain elements in Chinese politics which hope to profit by a continuance of disorder and corruption) as will tend to stabilize the finances and the transportation services of the Chinese government and thereby bring about conditions of order and security which may offer a less difficult set of conditions in which the Chinese people may develop an effective administration of their own.'"

* * *

Southern Taxes

Further tax assessments are being made on the Cantonese people by the military authorities and as a result the Canton silk dealers are considering suspending business as a protest against a surtax of 50 percent on stable and 20 percent on transit *likins* for raw silk. The silk men are now paying eight different taxes or contributions before they finally land their goods on the market. These include export duty, Kwangchow Prefecture *likins*, transit *likins*, stable *likins*, and four others collected for local charity or protective service.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

April 8, 1939

Wang Ching-wei's Intrigues

Fresh intrigues of the most sinister character designed to bring about the collapse of China's resistance to force her to capitulate to Japan are unfolding themselves in the latest activities of Wang Ching-wei, who appears now to be giving himself up entirely to the Japanese in order to wreak vengeance upon the Chungking authorities.

In addition to his latest lengthy outburst which was evidently inspired by the assassination of his henchman, Tseng Chung-min, Wang is said to be working intimately with the Japanese to hasten the downfall of the National Government. An understanding is reported to have been reached between Wang and the Japanese Premier Baron Hiranuma, whereby Japan had furnished Wang with the sum of $4,000,000 to finance his intrigues.

* * *

Flood Plus War

With the public eye focused on the Sino-Japanese hostilities and the terrible destruction of human life in Japan's aerial bombing campaign, little attention has been given to the fact that a natural calamity in the shape of the rampaging, uncontrolled Yellow River, aided in its depradations by conditions of war, is destroying the homes and livelihood of numberless people in the Hwai River valley region of Anhwei province, and has already created real conditions of famine.

WILL CHINA BECOME A RUSSIAN SATELLITE?

Edgar Snow

COMMUNIST victory in China has raised some of the most perplexing questions since the Marshall Plan and the Truman doctrine became the foundations of our post-war foreign policy. The questions themselves are not entirely new. As matters of speculation they have engaged the interest of men in our foreign service for years, as well as that of other observers who foresaw current developments. But the revolutionary change of power has now transformed mere possibilities of the past into these living enigmas of the present:

Will a communist-led government inevitably mean that China must fall under the absolute domination of the Kremlin? Will Moscow plant "specialists" in the Chinese police force, the army, the party Politburo, the state apparatus, to constitute a government above government, as in Eastern Europe? Will China fall into the orbit of Soviet economic planning, with powers held by Russian commissars to operate mines and industries to meet Russia's strategic demands? Will the Kremlin be able to dictate internal policy to Chinese communists, as well as control China's vote in the United Nations?

Unique History

For some parts of the world the mere asking of such questions might be synonymous with answering them in the affirmative. But experts share many doubts in the case of China. Among them there is widespread recognition that the development of communist power in China has established a unique history, with special variations in the past foreshadowing deviations in the future.

I myself have for years taken some part in written and oral discussions revolving around all the points examined in this article. In some quarters I have been derided as the creator of "the exceptionalist theory" for China. It has never been my contention that the Chinese communists are "not real Marxists." But internal evidence did convince me that they will not give "absolute obedience" to the Kremlin—the basic test of anyone accepted as satisfactory by Moscow. After a dozen years of firsthand study of China I concluded that Soviet Russia would not hold effective domination over the extremely nation-conscious Chinese communists.

Some officers in our Foreign Service took a similar view. Because of that, the State Department was less worried about communists in China than in other places. That was one reason why Mr. Truman officially encouraged the formation of a constitutional Chinese government representing communists as well as nationalists. Our experts realized that the communists might eventually come to the top in such a setup. But they argued that the alternative would be civil war in which the old regime would be smashed entirely, and during which the communists would be forced to draw closer to Russia.

The attempt at a compromise solution failed, and military events have now borne out the latter forebodings.

Yet there are powerful people in Congress, and around it, who still argue that salvation in Asia lies in heavier and more direct intervention against the Chinese communists, rather than an acknowledgment of failure in that policy. The Administration is now inclined to absorb the lessons of events in China, and to adopt a wait-and-see attitude. But interventionists insist that normal or friendly relations with Chinese communists are just as impossible as with the Russians. It is necessary to fight them by all means available, short of war. They contend that it is inconsistent to spend millions opposing guerrillas in tiny Greece, while retreating before communists in China, which holds nearly a quarter of mankind. And they see no difference between Greek Reds, dependent on invasion bases in Bulgaria and Albania, and a self-sufficient Chinese Red Army with formidable internal reserves at its command.

The Chinese party—say interventionists who fear Stalin will boss China—is an orthodox party thoroughly loyal to the Kremlin. It was a member of the Comintern, till Moscow unilaterally dissolved it. It has supported the Cominform's resolutions. The party has even upheld—though belatedly and somewhat "lukewarmly," our official political observers have noted—Moscow's denunciation of Tito, whom Chinese communists admired in the past.

Like the Russians, too, Chinese communists believe in the "historical necessity" to liquidate capitalism. They intend to help install universal socialism and—ultimately—communism. At present they are not enforcing communist or even socialist measures. But they have made it clear that they will, as soon as possible, establish state ownership over all the principal means of Chinese production, and collectivize the land.

The Chinese Reds have frankly proclaimed themselves loyal allies of the Soviet Union. Although the Kremlin furnished very little material help to justfy such claims, it did give important political or moral support. Chinese Reds also sympathized openly with Russian aims to eliminate the influence of American power in Asia. It is true that the United States furnished Chiang Kai-shek the principal military and economic support for his campaigns against the communists. But even if we had remained neutral, interventionists say, it would have influenced communist policies and attitudes very little. Communists would still have demanded withdrawal of our armed forces and cancellation of the commercial treaty which gave the United States prior claims on China's strategic raw materials.

Interventionists Logic

All that—which is more or less true—offers little hope for any return to the "good old days" in China. The interventionists also think that such facts are enough to condemn the communists as enemies of the Chinese people, enemies of China's freedom. They argue that a government led by such a party inevitably means a nation ruled in the interests of Russia, hostile to the United States and committed to eventual war against us. Therefore, we should promptly extend the anti-Cominform front to South China and to the European colonies in Southeastern Asia. We should arm all those who would fight the communists, "wherever they lift their heads."

But does adherence to an ideology or a body of dogma by a ruling political party alone determine the relations of a nation with its neighbors? Is the party ideology of the moment of greater permanent importance than the nation's whole past and the legacy of the past living in its people? Or greater than its vital economic requirements and exchanges with the rest of the world? Interventionist logic answers in the affirmative. It professes to believe that ideology has now made of the entire Chinese Communist Party the willing, or-

Edgar Snow's book "Red Star Over China," published in 1937, has earned for him the reputation in the United States as being one of the Americans best informed on the Chinese Communists. Several weeks ago, in the February 5 issue the *Review* reprinted an article by Mr. Snow entitled "Will Tito's Heretics Halt Russia?" in which he wrote that developments in Yugoslavia may give a "perspective on events now transpiring in China." Mr. Snow's views on this subject aroused some controversy, expressed both in letters and in an article published in a subsequent issue of the *Review* entitled, "Yugoslavia, China, and Snow." In the accompanying article, reprinted from the April 9 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, Mr. Snow expands his thesis that a Communist China can remain independent of Russia. Publication of this article does not mean that the *Review* subscribes to Mr. Snow's views in their entirety. However, he has raised many interesting questions and presents a very persuasive case. Comments from readers will, of course, be welcomed.—Editor.

thodox and loyal "slaves" of the Kremlin—as Ambassador Wellington Koo has called his countrymen.

To be objective, however, it must be admitted that such assumptions are simply not yet susceptible of proof. Neither Doctor Koo nor Chiang Kai-shek has been able to demonstrate how successfully the Kremlin even now dictates Chinese communist internal policy. Our own military intelligence indicates that the Chinese Reds have won their battles without any military directives from the Russians, and indeed without any direct military help. And in estimating the future, it is necessary carefully to consider certain factors which may entirely exclude a Sino-Russian relationship of slave and master in favor of a relationship between peers.

First, consider some geopolitical facts of fundamental significance. China is in immense country—almost as large as the United States, and with two times Soviet Russia's population. It is rich in human and natural resources, with an ancient civilization that has survived 3000 years of catastrophes to keep its basic values intact. China is the first country among all the colonies and semicolonies in which communists have won power. From their beginnings, China's Marxist leaders have, in theory, been internationalists. In practice, they have been nationalists continuing an independence movement.

Second, China is the first major power, outside Russia, to fall into the hands of avowed Marxists. Very important: it has, in contrast with Eastern Europe, a markedly lower standard of living than the U.S.S.R. as a whole.

Fought Alone

Third, the Chinese Red Army—or People's Liberation Army, as it now calls itself—fought its major battles for survival long before the recent war, and without any Soviet aid. Excepting Yugoslavia, China has the only communists who actually came to power without direct political or military dependence upon Russian arms.

Fourth, the Chinese party alone in the world today is led by a communist who has never been to Russia. He is the only communist chieftain ever expelled from a party—not once, but several times—who remained in power despite a Comintern order for his removal. Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh—now commander in chief of the Chinese communist forces—adopted an independent line in 1927-28, launched their own agrarian program and set up the Red Army, and first soviet, without party directives. Mao is the only communist leader—Tito excepted—who has publicly criticized Moscow's agents. Fifteen years ago Mao Tse-tung led in the arrest and removal from power of the last Comintern "specialist" sent to assume active direction of the Chinese Politburo. He was returned to Russia and—to the best of my knowledge—has never had a successor.

Fifth, as a result of long isolation and independent development, the Chinese Communist Party has acquired immense experience and self-confidence. Decades of civil war have trained great numbers of competent military and political leaders. China now has the largest Communist Party outside Russia—more than 3,000,000 members—and more than 2,000,000 troops backed by millions of armed peasants. It is one thing for Russian generals to push around military or political bosses in the small occupied states of Europe. It is quite another problem to manage a giant the size of China, run by a disciplined party in control of a great army—which knows it could make a good defense of its independence against any foreign power.

Sixth, Mao Tse-tung's personality is reflected in the internal structure of a party that is—whatever one may think of its methods or what it upholds ideologically—deeply Chinese in composition. It is doubtful if 10 percent of the members of the central committee are Soviet-educated. In the rank and file not one in 10,000 has been to Russia. They have learned their Marxism largely from the history of the Chinese party, the Chinese revolution, the text-books and doctrines worked out in the writings of Mao Tse-tung and other native leaders. Virtually all the veterans who form the hard core of this party, men now in their fifties and sixties, are products of more than twenty years of common history *made in China*. They could not now be seriously divided by outside critics.

Asiatic Marxism

Seventh, the Chinese communists were, until the Belgrade schism, the only non-Russian party which dared openly proclaim that it had made vital new contributions to the theory and revolutionary practice of Marxism. "Mao Tse-tung has created a Chinese or Asiatic form of Marxism," one of the Politburo members at Yenan told an American correspondent. "His great accomplishment has been to change Marxism from its European to its Asiatic form. He is the first who succeeded in doing so." A dangerous thought, of a variety unlikely to please the Kremlin. The speaker was Liu Hsiao-ch'i, No. 2 theoretician in the party, and the American correspondent was Anna Louise Strong, who was later arrested in Moscow as a "spy" and expelled. Before that, Miss Strong's book had been published in Eastern Europe, with the foregoing and similar statements deleted from the text.

In fact Mao Tse-tung and his followers were the first to prove that communist-led revolutions in semicolonial countries can conquer power by combining the role of national liberation with antifeudal social-reform movements. In a setting quite unforeseen by the Kremlin hierarchy they proved that such revolutions can succeed without depending upon urban proletarian insurrections, without help from Russia or the world proletariat, and on the basis of the organized peasantry as a main force.

Today these communists observe a somewhat unorthodox program based upon Mao Tse-tung's original thesis that in a backward country such as China it is possible for two distinct phases of history—"new capitalism" and "new democracy"—to coexist in an extended transition. While they aim, eventually, to have complete socialism—and, beyond that, communism—the Chinese say that they expect various forms of private capitalism to coexist with state capitalism for many years. Reassurances of a comparable nature were made and quickly were superseded in Eastern Europe, of course; one does not forget that the same thing could happen in China. But in the present primitive realities of China's non-industrialized economy an attempted rapid leap into socialism would appear to be excluded by practical political considerations.

Underestimated By Moscow

There are reasons to believe that Kremlin leaders long believed that the historical backwardness of China presented insuperable obstacles to an early communist triumph. It is doubtful that they ever took the communists' chances very seriously after the 1927 debacle. One striking illustration of the Soviet attitude occurred during the Sian Incident, in 1936. Chiang Kai-shek was "detained" by Chang Hsueh-liang, who wished to halt the civil war against his secret allies, the communists. Moscow vilified Chang Hsueh-liang as a pro-Japanese brigand and prepared to denounce the Chinese communists as bandits also, unless they worked for the prompt, safe release of the Generalissimo. Again, throughout the Sino-Japanese war the Kremlin regarded Chiang Kai-shek as the only man capable of "unifying China"—as Stalin told Harry Hopkins. And Russia furnished weapons and transport exclusively to Chiang's army—even long after the equipment was employed to attack and blockade the Chinese Reds.

Probably the sudden collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's forces last year surprised Moscow no less than western capitals. Certainly the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1945, concluded between Chiang's regime and the Kremlin, had clearly demonstrated the latter's skepticism concerning the postwar future of the Celestial Marxists. That treaty completely deprived Yenan of Soviet diplomatic support at the very moment when the former had obviously intended to intensify an open struggle for power.

We have heard much, recently, about how Roosevelt sold Chiang Kai-shek down the river when he agreed to give Stalin what he wanted in Manchuria. People overlook the fact that at that same time Stalin cut adrift the Chinese communists. Once German defeat became manifest, it had been the nightmare of Chiang Kai-shek that the Russians would attack Japan, without any understanding with him. He feared that they would then promptly install the Chinese communists in power, in the wake of their own advance in Manchuria. The Kremlin chose, instead, to sign a treaty of alliance with Chiang, which promised to aid his troops exclusively, and to

recognize his authority, and his alone, in a Manchuria where neither he nor the United States then had any forces. I was in Moscow when that treaty was concluded. It was considered good diplomacy by both Chinese nationalists and American official observers. It was believed that the treaty had definitely disposed of the Chinese Reds, "once and for all."

There is, in fact, no evidence to indicate that the Kremlin thought otherwise or was interested in more than Russian nationalist aims in Manchuria. It offered no other advance interpretation to Chinese communist headquarters, then still at Yenan, where the treaty came as a complete surprise.

Communist Expectations

Yenan's political line had clearly reflected quite other expectations. Several days after the treaty was signed but before it was published —Japan had already surrendered— the Chinese communists issued a proclamation to their forces which demanded: (1) immediate seizure of Nanking, and establishment of a "people's government" there; and (2) seizure of the cities of North China and Manchuria, and disarming of Kuomintang troops in repudiation of the Generalissimo's authority. Yenan heaped scorn upon Chiang Kai-shek as a "fascist," a "traitor," and an enemy of the people no better than Japan's puppets at Nanking.

This, about the man with whom Moscow had just concluded a treaty recognizing Chiang as China's supreme commander and Russia's loyal anti-fascist ally!

It was nearly a week after V-J Day before the treaty was made public. It placed the Chinese communists under even heavier pressure than Marshal Tito had resisted when, not long before, Moscow had demanded that he accept Mikhailovitch as a valid "nationalist" leader of Yugoslavia. Finally convinced that the text was authentic, the Yenanites realized that both Stalin and the United States were committed to support the Kuomintang regime. They had no alternative but to compromise, in the first round of the postwar struggle.

Within a month Mao Tse-tung was in Chungking, negotiating—at the instigation of American Ambassador Patrick Hurley — with Chiang Kai-shek.

Meanwhile, the American Air Force flew Chiang's troops into the key cities of the north to take over from the defeated Japanese. In accordance with the treaty, our Air Force and our Navy also ferried thousands of Kuomintang troops into Manchuria. The Soviet Russian command gradually handed over the principal cities and railways to Chinese nationalists—not to the communists.

But the Chinese Reds were already too formidable a power to be liquidated by any mere scrap of paper signed in Moscow. Over 1,000,000 members had a vested interest in the party. Nearly 1,000,000 troops which surrounded the big

The Money God—Shun Pao

walled cities depended upon it for survival. They all saw golden opportunities slipping away as Chiang Kai-shek rapidly replaced the Japanese and the Russians. So they, too, began a rush for Manchuria, on foot.

While the Generalissimo took over the railways and cities, the communists sent in some of their best troops and cadres to infiltrate the towns and villages, reinforcing local guerrillas. All this competition went on in the field, from the Yellow River to Manchuria, while at Nanking both sides negotiated questions of constitutional government and military reorganization, with General Marshall acting as mediator.

Gave Little Help

From the best information I could get, when I was in Korea in 1946, the Russians had given little help to the Chinese Reds. The latter were rather inclined to look upon their "loyal allies" as an obstacle, in fact. The Russians did nothing to halt their rural activities, when partisans had a chance to disarm hinterland Japanese garrisons, or secure caches of arms. But they enforced the treaty in the cities, where they turned over power to Kuomintang authorities. Russian policy played no decisive role in the ultimate defeat of Chiang's armies in Manchuria and it had no influence on the fate of the Kuomintang south of the Great Wall.

As a result, therefore, of the communists' sovereign victory in China, there now exists in East Asia a new set of circumstances with significant implications both inside and beyond the Marxist world. Moscow must deal with a major foreign power run by communists possessing all the means of maintaining real equality and independence. This becomes important when it is realized that potential sources of friction between Soviet and Chinese nationalisms already oxist in Manchuria, Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, where Russian attrition has been going on for generations. The question is: Will the legacy of past differences, and their influence on the psychology of the two regimes which now face each other along many thousands of miles of frontier, be overcome by their adherence to a common ideology?

Complete control of Manchuria, especially, seems indispensable to any regime seeking the planned development of China as a modern state. Despite its 40,000,000 population, Manchuria is still the greatest area left open for settlement by immigration from densely crowded regions. It contains more than 80 per cent of all China's iron deposits, 37 per cent of her forest lands, a large part of her coal, and great water-power resources. Before the war it held about 40 per cent of China's railway mileage, 70 per cent of her total smelting and mining enterprises, and over half the textile industry. It accounted for 40 per cent of China's entire export trade. Under Japan, Manchuria's industrial facilities and communications greatly expanded.

Certain temptations are inherent in Russia's special position in Manchuria, coupled with the authority of the Kremlin hierarchy in the world communist organization. By the Treaty of 1945, Russia became half owner of the trans-Manchurian railway system, which has its terminus at Dairen. Russia also acquired equal ownership and management rights in valuable auxiliary mines, industries, hotels and other enterprises. Moscow obtained joint control of the naval and air base at Port Arthur, the right to move troops in the railway zone, co-administrative authority in the city of Dairen, and duty-free trans-shipment rights.

At last there is in Manchuria a government which would appear to fit Moscow's description of "friendly." Indeed it is pledged, by past vows made before Chinese communists came to power, loyally to obey Kremlin—that is, Comintern—directives. And yet—they are still Chinese there. They can no more wish to see Manchuria or any part of China absorbed, annexed, bossed or pushed around by Russia than the Russians would like to see Siberia annexed, as an "autonomous state," by China.

Head-on Collision

If Russia were now to seek to deprive the Peiping government of control over the economic, political and military life of Manchuria or to detach it from China after the pattern of Outer Mongolian "independence," there would be a head-on collision of nationalisms within the communist-run world. Chinese communists could no more survive the loss of Manchuria to Russia than the latter could permit the annexation of the Ukraine by communist Poland or its absorption into a Polish-German communist federation.

What meager reports one gets about current Soviet-Chinese relations in Manchuria indicate that old suspicions persist, abetted by the Chinese basic dislike of Russia's colonial position there. And the Chinese still resent Soviet looting of Manchurian machinery stocks, arsenal equipment, and so on, estimated by the Pauley commission to be worth $850,000,000.

China-trained Reds have also been somewhat disillusioned by their encounters with Soviet bureaucrats in Manchuria. Among themselves the Chinese communists practiced an

almost ascetic equality in living conditions, sharing everything alike between officers and men. They were rudely shocked to discover the wide differences in food, clothing, quarters, pay and privileges between various grades of Russian soldiers and civilians. There have also been incidents of arrogance and condescension.

A more serious source of friction is likely to develop out of the practice of importing Russian-trained, Russian-speaking Chinese to take over responsible authority in the Soviet-Chinese joint enterprises and in zones of co-occupation. An outstanding case of the kind was the return of Li Li-san, who was brought to Harbin, and is now a figure of power, owing to his close connection with the Russian secret police.

As former head of the Chinese Communist Party, Li Li-san bitterly fought Mao Tse-tung and had him expelled from the Politburo. Mao won out in the field, where he organized the Chinese Red Army, and Li Li-san fled to Moscow fifteen years ago. For a time Li had Comintern support, but Mao's success with the peasant movement earned reluctant sanction for his "line." Now, in returning Li Li-san to Harbin in 1945, the Russians reopened an old chapter of rivalry.

On his own, Li could no longer seriously challenge Mao's internal prestige and popularity. But some Chinese communists think that his restoration to regional power was symptomatic of a Kremlin policy aimed eventually to establish an autonomous Manchurian party dominated by Chinese loyal to Moscow rather than the Chinese Politburo. Although Mao Tse-tung issued a belated welcome to Li Li-san, he must have resented this development much as Tito resented the MVD specialists sent in by Russia to "supervise" in Yugoslavia.

But 1945 was no time to rebuke Moscow. Until China was firmly unified under communist power there would be no open schism between the Russian and Chinese parties.

New Federation

And today? Much depends upon how far the Russians push for the separation of Manchuria from China. Far from accepting the role of satellites, either for Manchuria or China as a whole, the Chinese communists look upon their country as the potential focus of a new federation of Eastern socialist states, which can exist independently, on a plane of complete equality with the U.S.S.R. While the Kremlin cannot be much happier over such a prospect than it was about Tito's Balkan federation scheme, it would be highly illusory to imagine that the Russains will promptly repeat, in China, the mistakes which lost them effective control of Yugoslavia. They will proceed with extreme caution, hopefully waiting for the Americans to make the blunders on which their own success could be improvised.

China now represents a long-range problem of "management" for the Kremlin, which can either be simplified or greatly complicated by American policy. So long as it is true that the United States is the main support of the old regime in China, and of any or all anti-communist parties, groups, politicians or war lords prepared to continue what is now clearly a lost war, Americans will easily hold their present position as Foreign Enemy No. 1. But it is reasonable to suppose that by 1951 the communists will have shattered all opposing military power in the country, and America will have accepted the inevitable. What then?

The new Peiping communist regime has been established by a revolution which satisfied some urgent needs of the peasantry—combined with the energy aroused by anti-foreign slogans of a nationalist movement. It can succeed and endure only by continuing that same pattern—by redeeming the most important promises of internal progress, popular reform and true national independence. It cannot succeed by betraying those promises. It would be destroyed if it surrendered the interests of the Chinese people to Russian demands which might make of China a colonial instrument or base for aggressive war against the United States.

Ambitious Program

The new government's program envisages rapid industrialization, expanded public works and communications of all kinds, greatly increased and modernized agricultural output, enlarged facilities for mass education and public-health work, and the training of thousands of new technicians capable of directing an economy co-ordinated by state planning. Yet it starts off with a nation that is bankrupt—its cities ruined, its railways wrecked, its machinery antiquated or useless, its river and canal systems broken down, its people hungry, weary and ragged, eager to work but lacking the tools and other means. Chinese communists are not so stupid as to think, once they begin to carry the full responsibility of national power, that they can solve all those internal problems and simultaneously launch a war, or help Russia to launch a war, against the United States.

All Chinese are deeply conscious of the desperate need for an extended period of peace. Mao Tse-tung knows that his ambitious state program will require capital and credits on a huge scale, heavy industrial machinery and tools of all kinds, and hence a large volume of foreign imports. He and other communists realize that Russia cannot satisfy demands for capital goods even in Eastern Europe and Siberia. Still less can Russia right now become the industrial arsenal of a new China. If the new regime is to make a speedier success of modernizing China than its predecessors, it will have to seek aid wherever practicable, rather than abide by ideological preferences. China will need at least the businesslike understanding of America, and equable trade and credit arrangements. America is unlikely to recognize the new regime until it has unified control over all China. Even after that, relations may be distant and cool compared to the past. But the roots of anti-Americanism are not deep in China. They will diminish in proportion as the need of American help becomes more urgent.

No Menace To US

China as it stands presents no war menace to the United States in the visible future. General MacArthur was quite right when he said recently that Chinese Red successes did not endanger our security. As a market, China need not be missed in the American economy; the balance of our trade there has been heavily unfavorable for many years. This is an excellent time for Uncle Sam to leave the initiative in our future relations entirely up to the Chinese, and give them plenty of time, years if necessary, to realize the main fact. That is, that Sino-American trade is at least as important to China as it is to the U.S.A.

I have suggested that there are serious contraditions between the national aspirations of the Chinese communists and Russian nationalist expansion under the guise of "internationalism." But such differences are a very minor matter compared to the "contradictions" between the "national aspirations of the Chinese communists" and the aims of continued American intervention against them! If the purpose of American policy is to strengthen China's independence from Russia, then it is not likely to be achieved by forcing the communists—who already rule about half the population—to resign themselves to the terms of Russian alliance, in self-defense. If it were demonstrated, however, that the United States does not intend to hold onto any part of China, nor to try to impose its will there in alliance with anti-communists of all varieties, the factors I have discussed would then come into operation in establishing the character of Sino-Russian communist relations.

In any event, in the long run the Chinese Communist Party probably cannot and will not subordinate the national interests of China to the interests of the Kremlin. If our policy is washed clean of interventionism, history may evolve along lines for which all the necessary preconditions now exist. China will become the first communist-run major power independent of Moscow's dictation. And that in itself would project entirely new perspectives within the socialist camp as well as elsewhere.

Peiping might eventually become a kind of Asiatic Moscow, an Eastern Rome preaching Asiatic Marxism out of Moscow's control. As such, it would come to constitute the symbol of the overthrow of the European colonial system in Asia, as well as the denial of principles of democracy that have grown with private-property rights in the ownership of the means of production. On the other hand, it might

also set up a frontier against the expansion of communism *as an extension of Russian nationalism* in the East—a barrier as effective as that now erected at Belgrade in the West.

It is just possible that an independent China under communist leadership, at the center of a new system of independent Asiatic states, might eventually prove to be a principal factor in the stabilization of world peace. Given the opportunity to develop its own resources in arm's-length co-operation with other nations, such a new Asia might form a bloc of powers important enough to maintain a stable balance between the Russian and American spheres of influence.

People accustomed to thinking in terms of ideological absolutes may find it hard to understand how "communism" can be contained by communism or how it could be checked by anything but its exact opposite, which they tend to see as "capitalism." But there are many shades and variations in meaning and growth in words of that type, and there will be more. Dialectically, it is likely that the threat of Russian world dictatorship will be checked by rival developments of communist power as well as by social democracy and modified capitalism.

New Polarizations

History shows us that aggressive universal faiths and organizations have been halted before they conquered the world—or burned it up—by internal rivalries or disintegration more often than by attacks from without. Until a few months ago many people considered it an immutable law that communist states everywhere, at all times, would always submit unconditionally to Kremlin dictation. But even people who do not understand anything else about the Yugoslavia schism realize that something new has been added to the word "communism"—because the above statement is obviously untrue. Now at least it must be amended to read: "Every communist state, at all times, will submit unconditionally to the Kremlin—unless it has an army and a police force loyal to its own national leaders first, and to the Russian national leaders second."

Anyone may speculate about what comes next in China, but no one can now predict all the results of the new polarizations of power in Asia. There are grave risks involved in a policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of China and other Asian states. There are perhaps even greater risks entailed by unqualified support of the status quo. For even the most myopic observer must realize that a new era of nationalism—independence combined with various forms of social revolution—is now a reality for most Asiatic nations. Events in China are merely the most dramatic current expression of an upheaval that is shaking nations from Korea to Arabia. And Japan had the right phrase for it, even if history took a different road to achieve it. It is the era of "Asia for the Asiatics"—and of government of, by and for Asiatics.

It is not my function here to predict whether this era will be for better or for worse, for all concerned. It is not in my province to pass any moral judgments on the events themselves. What is important for everybody, however, is to recognize the changes visibly made by history working before our eyes. Especially the basic change, which is that the entire colonial system is close to an end.

Any policy which denies that or aggressively attempts to revive imperialism—under whatever name—can only prolong the struggle of Asia for equality and independence, at further frightful waste of human effort. But it is much too late to restore any empires in this part of the world. Too late for Russia as well as for any other power.

Java Today:

Resembles Police State

Frances M. Earle

(The following account of conditions in Indonesia, written by Dr. Frances M. Earle, associate professor of geography at the University of Washington, is reprinted from THE SEATTLE TIMES. Dr. Earle has been in Southeast Asia on research work for a year, the past nine months in Java. She was in Jogjakarta, the Republican capital, when it was bombed and captured by the Dutch on December 19—Editor.)

JAVA today resembles a police state. In the larger cities, including Batavia, there are civil police, military police, general police, special police, Indonesian police, Eurasian police, and Dutch police—plus the Army, the Navy and the Marine Corps.

The police and the military can and do regulate almost everything—except traffic.

Jeeps, trucks and weapons-carriers are familiar. They are all of United States manufacture. So are most of the military planes. So are many of the uniforms, procured from surplus stocks in the South Pacific. Boyish-looking Dutch marines wear canvas shoulder bags marked: "U.S. Navy Gas Mask."

Dutch troops in Indonesia in December, 1948, were estimated at 130,000 to 140,000. At least one shipload of troops from Holland has landed since then and another is reported en route.

In the interior, Republican forces are operating. They are not as well clothed as the Dutch, or as well-armed. But early statements by the Dutch command that the Republic would be crushed in the first three days of operation were gradually modified to six weeks, then to three months.

The official Dutch position at present is that nothing but sporadic guerrilla attacks are being made. Privately, the Dutch talk hopefully about pouring additional troops into Java to end Republican resistance by July.

Republican troops have infiltrated or returned to the pockets they formerly occupied in Western Java. There are 40,000 to 45,400 crack Siliwangi troops in this area. They are fed by the Indonesians in spite of reprisals by the Dutch on any village found giving assistance to the Republicans.

According to eyewitness accounts Republican activities in Middle and East Java are increasing. Systematic night attacks have destroyed rail bridges, railway stations and highway stations and highway bridges. Road blocks are common. The use of land mines is increasing. One or two important towns were so isolated they had to be supplied from the air.

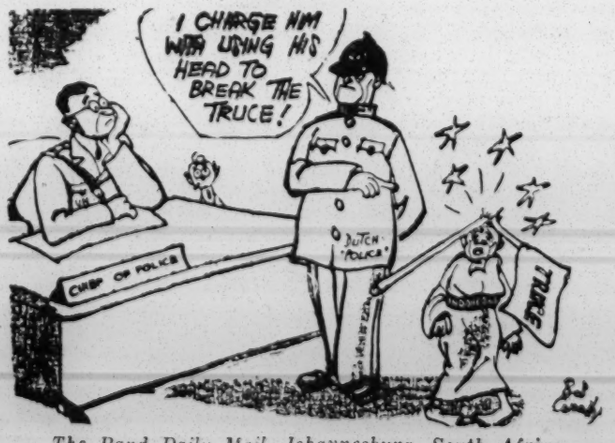
The Republicans boast that no Dutch have set foot in Atjeh, in Northeastern Sumatra, since the end of the Second World War.

The Republic periodically announces the recapture of towns and even the reoccupation of certain parts of Jogjakarta, their former capital.

The resistance is costly to the Dutch. The total is estimated at $300,000,000. Indonesians are convinced Economic Cooperation Administration money has been used to finance this military venture. They argue that only withdrawal of ECA assistance will have any positive effect on the Dutch policy.

There is a common saying here: "Hit them in the guilder—that is where it will hurt most."

"THE CULPRIT"



The Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, South Africa

Educational Changes In Peiping

Yu Wah

Peiping (by Mail).

THE liberation of Peiping came sooner than was expected and education was caught unprepared. Moreover, education constituted a different problem from the political takeover, and the Communists felt it should be dealt with slowly. The university system, imported as it was from the West, could not be transformed overnight into one in keeping with the New Democracy.

The Communists have laid down the general line for educational reform, but its technical details are to be worked out later by the educators under government supervision. The guiding principle is this: Education under the New Democracy must transform China from an agriculturally backward into a modern industrialized country. Naturally, science, engineering, agriculture and medicine are given first priority.

Science And Agriculture

The type of pure science which China's returned students introduced to this country in the last 50 years is condemned today for its isolation from applied science. The concensus now is that the study of pure science should be incorporated with that of applied science and scientific colleges and factories should be interrelated, so that science and engineering students may go into the factories for practical experience while factory personnel may attend college for instruction or exchange of views on various technical problems. Both government and educational circles favor the setting up of separate institutions outside the universities to train technicians, the number of which must be greatly increased to fit in with government plans to boost production. No action, however, is expected to be taken before the new academic year begins in September.

The same ideas have been expressed with regard to agricultural education. Agricultural colleges, it is felt, should focus their attention on how to improve the economic life of the peasantry through such means as increasing their productivity and improving upon existing farm tools and fertilizers. The peasants, it is hoped, will be encouraged to regard agricultural institutions as an immediate aid to them and not something remote and of no concern.

Law departments have been the subject of severe criticism which describes them as a "manifestation of Nationalist oppression over the people." The government has not indicated definitely that they should be closed down, but has declared that the curriculum is "reactionary" and students so trained will find themselves "unfit" for the new democratic state. While no action has been taken by either the government or school authorities, class attendance at the law department at Tsinghua University, for example, has gone down 50 percent.

> The author of this article is not known personally to the editors other than the fact that he is connected with Tsinghua University in Peiping. His report, therefore, is not offered as a definitive account of Communist views on university education, but rather as an informative description of the changes which have already been made or are being contemplated—Editor.

Another target of criticism is theology, the teaching of which has been prohibited. This ban has affected the Chinese Catholic University and Yenching University. Private individuals, however, are to be allowed religious freedom until such time, the Communists envisage, as science advances to a stage where the forces of nature can be brought under control.

Marxism and Leninism, which could only be "smuggled" to the students under the Nationalist rule, now are being given widespread attention. The two subjects are being taught at Tsinghua, Peita and Yenching, although no credits are given, and in three new Communist universities which have been established in Peiping. These universities, the People's Revolution University, the North China Military and Political University (of which Peiping's mayor, General Yeh Chien-ying, is chancellor), and the North China University, have a combined attendance of 20,000 students, and offer four to six-months courses in Marxism, Leninism and the ideology and strategy of Mao Tze-tung.

Another 20,000 students from the Peiping-Tientsin area are being recruited for the Civilian Service Corps for the area south of the Yangtze river. Members of this corps, after a brief indoctrination in Communist ideology, will follow the Liberation Armies for the taking over of Nationalist political, economic, cultural and educational institutions and state-owned railways and mines south of the Yangtze River.

The education and economics departments of the universities have come in for only minor criticism. These subjects are regarded as indispensable tools for the promotion of the people's welfare if the bourgeois standpoint is replaced by that of the proletariat. Bookkeeping and accounting, for example, can be as useful to the New Democracy as to any regime.

Shortly after Peiping's liberation the students in Tsinghua and other universities began clamoring for reforms in both the curricula and the university administration. Students and faculty members alike have met frequently in the last two months to discuss what can be done to gear the university system to the New Democracy. However, all feel that the changes must be so basic that it will take time to effect them. Furthermore, although in such fields as science, engineering, agriculture and medicine students have been trained along western lines and the laboratories and textbooks have been imported from the United States and the United Kingdom, there is such need for trained personnel that the status quo must be maintained until a smooth changeover can be effected. Likewise, the law schools have been left alone because there is nothing to replace them at the moment.

In the arts college, however, some minor changes have been made. Communist literature has been introduced into the freshman Chinese classes, and in freshmen English the old textbooks have been discarded and English-language material on Russia substituted wherever possible. Some students even requested exemption from freshman English. A special examination was given at Tsinghua University in March which released a small percentage of students from the course, but the majority will continue the study of English.

Since the Government has not demanded any immediate reforms in the curricula other than the elimination of reactionary material, the faculty members favor postponing any action until the end of the second semester in June.

Productive Work

It has been suggested by educational circles, notably at Yenching University where US Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart used to be president, that faculty members take over the administration of the universities in order to release a number of office workers for more productive work. While this suggestion has not been acted upon, office employees and laborers at Tsinghua University have already begun to engage in productive activities. The arable land at the University has been distributed among them for the spring crop and the yield will go to the tillers. The indication is that faculty members and their dependents and students will follow suit. The present pay scale for educational workers is not large enough to support a family and dependents, therefore, will have to engage in some kind of productive work. Students are still receiving their government subsidies on a temporary basis, but eventually they, too, will have to revert to part time productive labor.

The government took over the financial responsibility for Tsinghua University on January 1. The salary of educational workers was virtually unchanged and is calculated in terms of so many catties of millet.

Wages are paid both in cash and in kind. Basic pay is calculated according to two sets of formula, one for pay under 300 CNC and the other for pay above 300 CNC.

Briefly, it works out as follows: If a worker's basic pay is 160 CNC, he receives nearly 600 catties of millet, 90 of which he receives in kind. If his basic pay is 400 CNC, he receives nearly 800 catties, 90 of which is paid in kind. An unskilled laborer at the university receives 150 catties and a skilled laborer 300 catties. The price of millet was quoted at eight Jen Min Piao a catty in January and 11 Jen Min Piao in February. Up to March 17, when the government opened remittances and trade with the Nationalist areas, the conversion rate between the Jen Min Piao and the Gold Yuan was one to 10. (The blackmarket exchange rate between the US dollar and the Jen Min Piao is one to 600.)

Administrative Changes

Several changes have been made in university administration. Formerly, only professors and persons on the highest levels of administration attended faculty meetings. Now they are open to persons of lower rank as well. All decisions must be discussed and approved by the parties concerned before they go into effect. While under this system the president of the university may appear to be only a nominal head, the feeling is that he should execute the decisions, not make them. The practicability of this has been illustrated by the fact that Peita, Tsinghua and Yenching universities have been virtually without a president since the liberation of Peiping and this has not interfered with their normal functions. Another notable change is that school finances, which formerly were a closed-door business, have now been exposed to public scrutiny. Also, the posts of dean of discipline have been abolished.

Next in importance to educational reform is the task of setting up a research institute to make a thorough study of Peiping's population problem. The city has an estimated 1,300,000 non-productive consumers out of a population of 2,500,000. The problem is how to encourage these consumers to migrate to productive areas and reduce the city's population to around 1,000,000. Results of the research institute's study and whatever recommendations it may make should play an important part in the government's production increase program. The government is also employing scholars to translate books on law and government administration patterned after the USSR and the Eastern European countries.

These reforms, and whatever others may be made here during the next few months, it must be emphasized, are not final, and will not be until the entire educational system of the country can be unified.

The Week's Business

DESPITE the issuance of big denomination notes of GY5,000 and GY10,000, the shortage of cash notes in the Shanghai market continued and more bank orders had to be used, many of which were found to be counterfeit.

Prices in general continued to rise and the peak was reached on Monday (April 4) when gold was quoted at GY1,250,000 per ounce and greenbacks at GY28,000. The price of rice reached GY160,000 per picul.

This bullish trend was checked in the afternoon when the Central Bank of China dumped 60,000 ounces of gold in the market at GY1,250,000 per ounce and it was reported that over GY70,000,000,000 was recalled by the Bank during the day.

A tight money situation was created and the interest rate went as high as GY300 per mille per day by evening. Many banks found it impossible to balance their accounts in the Shanghai Clearance House and sold gold bars to the Central Bank late at night at prices as low as GY900,000 per ounce. It was estimated that as much as 10,000 ounces of gold was sold during the night to the Central Bank, which made a profit of GY3,500,000,000.

In this connection, it worthy of note that the Central Bank has brought large quantities of gold from South China in recent weeks and more is expected to arrive in the near future. Furthermore, gold is being purchased by the Central Bank in America at the official price of GY35 per ounce. All these consignments of gold are expected to be dumped in the local market to recall Gold Yuan notes.

In his report to the Legislative Yuan, Dr. S. Y. Liu, Minister of Finance and Governor of the Central Bank, declared that China now has gold, silver, foreign exchange and commodities valued at US$200,000,000. These assets, he said, will be dumped on the market and should last at least for one year. According to Dr. Liu, China's total note issue at the end of March was only GY200,000,000,000. At the exchange rate then the Government could have redeemed all the Gold Yuan notes with US$10,000,000.

Dr. Liu revealed further that three-fourths of the National Budget is being used for military purposes and that the Government will be able to meet its obligations by the sale of US$15,000,000 worth of assets every month. The monthly budget for the entire Government is 120,000,000 silver dollars, of which 90,000,000 silver dollars is alloted to the National Defense Ministry for military expenditures.

In addition to gold dumping, which constituted the most important development during the past week, another note worthy step was the decision of commercial banks not to cash checks until after they have gone through the Shanghai Clearance House. This means a 24-hour time lag after a check is deposited, and brought local markets to a standstill on Tuesday and Wednesday.

This decision on the part of the banks was reached because of the increase in the number of dishonored checks during the past months due to the practice of businessmen issuing checks without depositing the necessary amounts first. The banks had found it necessary to advance the money and often when it was learned late at night that the dishonored checks amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars, they were forced to sell gold at cheap rates to the Central Bank.

The decision was adopted, therefore, as a measure of protection for banks.

New regulations issued by the Finance Control Bureau to stop the banks from the reckless issue of bank orders also checked the smooth flow of credits and, as a result, busi-

picul, dropped to GY150,000 per picul ness and the markets were quiet.

However, prices increased as soon as money became easy. By the evening of April 6, gold was quoted at as high as GY150,000 per ounce while greenbacks were GY32,000. The price of rice, which increased to the new record of GY200,000 per picul, dropped to GY150,000 per picul on the same day when more arrivals reached town.

Although statistics are not yet available, well-informed business circles state that many firms have closed down and many others have gone into bankruptcy. The Central Bank's policy of selling gold at high rates and buying it from the public at extremely low rates when money turns tight has been the subject of strong criticism by the local press during the past few days. It is felt that the Central Bank should assist businessmen rather than compete against them.

The following list gives the quotations of some of the leading commodities on March 30 and April 6:

	Mar. 30 GY	Apr. 6 GY
Gold	800,000	1,340,000
US Dollar	16,000	29,500
Clearance Certificate	16,000	26,000
Silver Dollar	12,000	27,500
20's Yarn	2,930,000	5,000,000
Rice	89,000	168,000
Wing On Textile	9.75	24.50

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Delegates Open Peace Talks; Nanking Students, Army Clash

THE Government's six-man peace delegation headed by General Chang Chih-chung arrived in Peiping by air on April 1 to start negotiating peace with the Chinese Communists. Details of the delegation's reports to Nanking were kept strictly secret and most of the papers were resorting to speculation on the nature of the current talks.

The Kuomintang's official organ, the *Central Daily News*, published in Nanking, disclosed that the delegation opened negotiations in Peiping with proposals of an immediate cease-fire and convocation of a multi-party political consultative conference. It was even claimed by sources close to acting President Li Tsung-jen that the Communists had agreed in principle to issue a cease-fire order shortly. But competent observers believe the matter is not that simple.

It is understood that the Nationalist peace delegation spent the first few days in an informal exchange of views with individual members of the Communist peace delegation in order to "cultivate friendship" and create a more favorable atmosphere for formal talks. One Chinese paper said General Chang Chih-chung emphasized the Government's sincere desire for peace in the interests of world peace at an informal meeting with the Communist delegation. He was further reported to have said that mutual recognition and not mutual antagonism was required between the two parties. He urged mutual consultations, not arbitrary decision; mutual concessions, not despotism.

According to the same paper, General Chou En-lai, head of the Communist delegation, said in reply: "It is only a dream of fools to think that a third world war will break out." Those "fond of war," General Chou was reported to have declared, wish to take the opportunity of talking peace to delay the attacks of the Communist People's Liberation Army so that they can rearm for a counterattack. He further demanded that Communist Leader Mao Tze-tung's eight terms be carried out and that the Kuomintang demonstrate its sincerity by actions and facts, not mere words.

The mood of pessimism is very strong in well-informed circles in Nanking regarding the prospects for peace. In the words of an outspoken and sharp-tongued observer, "Maybe it was only a coincidence that the long-awaited peace conference between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists should have started on April Fools' Day. It will be the Chinese people who are most likely to get fooled."

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Nanking Incident

SEVERAL hours after the Government's peace delegation left Nanking for Peiping, there occurred in the capital a highly regrettable incident, involving students and army officers. As a result, a student was killed and more than one hundred others badly injured. There were different versions of the incident. But some facts were beyond dispute. It was understood that several thousand students of the various colleges and universities in Nanking staged a demonstration and went to petition acting President Li Tsung-jen about improving the livelihood of the students and releasing students who were rounded up last year. The students reasoned that since acting President Li had already ordered the release of all political prisoners there was no reason whatsoever why the arrested students should still be detained. Besides, the recent skyrocketing of commodity prices has made life very difficult for the students.

According to *Reuter*, the demonstrating students shouted such slogans as "More American Aid Would Kill Our People." They carried posters saying: "We Oppose False Peace. Down with Bureaucratic Capitalists! Liquidate their Properties! We Oppose Conscription and Taxation in Kind."

* * *

False Peace

The *Associated Press* reported that the demonstrating students distributed leaflets which said among other things: "Now we are hearing of the departure of the Government's peace delegation. This is only a gesture to fool the people since the Government has lost the war and all its troops.... We know this peace gesture is false because the Government continues large-scale conscription of troops, requisitioning of food, and because the Government is continuing its preparations for war and strengthening the Yangtze River defense."

The official version, as made public by the Government, described the incident as a "clash" between inactivated Nationalist army officers and the demonstrating students who were charged with having aroused the dissatisfaction of the officers with their "pro-Communist propaganda." But the official story failed to explain why more than 100 students were injured in this "fracas."

The students told a different story. They charged that the whole incident was a well-planned job. They were beaten up with wooden clubs by more than 1,000 inactivated army officers now under the care of the Ministry of National Defense. It was further charged that a large group of students was stoned and clubbed in front of the gates of the Presidential Office.

The heavy casualties among the students indicates that the whole matter was something bigger than an "accidental" soldier - student fracas. Reports on the number of students injured also were conflicting. The spokesman for the Nanking garrison headquarters said only 60 students were injured. The Ministry of Education, in conjunction with the presidents of the various universities and colleges in the capital, conducted a thorough check and announced that 110 students were injured, one of whom died afterwards. The casualty list made public by the students counted one killed, 70-odd badly injured, 200-odd slightly injured and 30 missing.

* * *

Violent Reaction

The Nanking "incident" caused a big stir throughout the country. The violent reaction on the part of the Chinese Communists, as evidenced by the sharp attacks voiced by the Peiping Red radio station, added significance to the trouble. The Government authorities were doing their best to hush up the matter. A special curfew has been enforced in Hankow, Foochow and elsewhere to ban student demonstrations. In Shanghai, precautionary measures were taken to forestall similar student trouble. The local Chinese and foreign press was called upon by the Government authorities to help enlighten the students "not to be utilized by some subversive trouble-makers." Fang Chih, director of the Shanghai Kuomintang Headquarters, deplored the Nanking incident and requested the local press to wield its editorial power to prevent a similar tragedy in Shanghai.

In order to prevent further trouble, the Government has ordered the removal of the inactivated army officers from the city to the suburbs. But *Reuter* reported April 4 from Nanking: "Last week's skirmishes between demonstrating university students and veteran Kuomintang officers and N.C.Os back from the front threatened to flare up again today when officers picketed the Dramatic Art School and threatened to shoot any student venturing outside...."

Psychological Warfare

AT the same time when peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communists formally started in Peiping, there was a significant exchange of messages between General Fu Tso-yi, former Nationalist commander-in-chief for North China and Communist leader Mao Tze-tung. General Fu, in a circular message to Chairman Mao Tze-tung, all democratic parties, people's organizations and patriotic elements inside the Kuomintang, pointed out that Peiping was saved from destruction by a peace settlement and expressed the hope that all Kuomintang military and government personnel with patriotic sentiments would courageously admit their mistakes and work for peace, on Peiping's pattern. Fu also pledged his support to the Communists.

Mao Tze-tung in his reply welcomed Fu's willingness to stand on the side of the people and told the civil servants in Nationalist China that they would also be welcome whoever they might be, provided they distinguished right from wrong.

Mao's statement is viewed as a severe psychological blow to the Nationalists. *Reuter* commented:

"Qualified neutral observers here today told *Reuter* that the Chinese Communists dealt the Kuomintang Government what was probably the most serious psychological blow so far when their chairman, Mr. Mao Tse-tung, last night told Nationalist officials that 'they will be welcome to work by us no matter who they are.'

"Mr. Mao's broadcast statement may set at rest lurking fears in the minds of many Kuomintang minor officials about what may happen to them if the Communists took over all China, these observers said.

"The statement might also immeasurably increase the popular lethargy among the masses in Nationalist China towards further resistance to the Communists, and heighten the prospects of further 'piecemeal peace' on the Peiping pattern unless it is quickly and effectively countered by the Ho Ying-chin Government, they said.

"The statement has virtually cut off any further retreat of the Nationalist Government from the peace conference table at Peiping if the Communist terms prove too severe, these observers thought."

* * *

MacArthur Plan

THERE has been much agitation in recent weeks in the United States for extending more aid to Nationalist China in its desperate fight against Communism. Harold E. Stassen proposed a MacArthur Plan for Asia patterned after the Marshall Plan for Europe. He elaborated on the subject: "We must conclude we are foolhardy to contribute by our action or by our withdrawal of aid, to the Communist domination of China. We should move and move promptly to bolster the southern half of China, to assist by materials and by counsel, in maintaining the independence of Canton and of the four southern provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien and Hunan, and of Taiwan and Hongkong."

But Americans who are watching the China situation on the spot feel that Stassen did not know what he was talking about. In this connection, an *AP* story makes interesting reading:

"Americans in China read the debates of Congress which center on stopping Communism and wonder anew how Uncle Sam can stop Communism in this huge, crowded land without getting caught in a flock of collateral problems that would require billions and might not even then be solved.

"Most of them feel that Communism, like every other revolutionary movement in China's history, was brought about by internal conditions which the west always oversimplifies. They feel that until those conditions are rectified, China is doomed to turmoil and to one revolutionary movement after another.

"The renewed suggestions from Washington that the Red tide be halted by more American money to the Nationalists sounds to the average American in China like a suggestion that old mistakes be repeated.

"It also brings up the problem—who will the money go to? Chiang Kai-shek and the dispersed remnant of his Kuomintang government and the scattered indifferent ragtag million or so discouraged men that remain of his armies? Or to Li Tsung-jen and his new regime which has its eye on one object and one only—some sort of peace with the Reds?

"The suggested MacArthur Plan has the American in China scratching his head even harder. Does that mean a few hundred thousand American troops to run the show and interfere directly in China's war—or does it mean another Stilwell affair with the new 'MacArthur' subjected to the same obstructions and pressure frustrations which seem inherent in China toward any foreign leader who has a lot of money to spend?

"Is Uncle Sam going to take on a job like that on the one hand while cutting back his own military expenditures elsewhere? And if Uncle Sam decides to underwrite the Nationalists with a MacArthur plan, is he also going to shovel in additional millions to solve the land problem, to feed the people while more war devastates more land, to stop inflation which incubates urban misery and sows new seeds of Communism every day?"

* * *

Peace Or War

THE much-debated Atlantic Pact was formally signed on April 4 in Washington by 12 nations including Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States. Before the signature, the Soviet Government had protested to the Atlantic countries against the project, which it charged was aggressive and aimed at Soviet Russia. It further charged that the pact violated the United Nations charter and the Potsdam and Yalta Agreements and contradicted both the Anglo-Russian and Franco-Russian non-aggression treaties.

President Harry S. Truman significantly emphasized that the influence of the pact "will be felt not only in the area it specifically covers but throughout the world." He also hailed the pact as a "shield against aggression."

But Senator Robert A. Taft thought otherwise. He said the pact might increase chances of another world war and called on the Senate and public for a "complete discussion" on its issues.

Taft, powerful chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, expressed grave fears about the consequences of the pact in an address prepared for broadcast. He said despite provisions reserving to Congress the right to declare war the pact in fact would bind the United States morally to go to war if any member nation in Europe is attacked either by Russia or some other power.

"I am inclined to believe, therefore, that if we adopt the treaty we should do so with the frank admission that we are committing ourselves to go to war if Russia attacks one of the Western European nations," he said.

While he did not consider this as "conclusive argument" against the treaty, Taft said he was fearful that its terms might "make us a policeman for all Western Europe" even if Russia became peaceful in the meantime. His most serious concern, however, was that pact nations "may give the Russians the impression, at least justified by themselves, that they are ringing them around with armies for the purpose of undertaking aggressive action when the time comes.

"They may feel that, if war is to come, they had better undertake it before these armaments are built up. Under such circumstances, the pact, instead of being a deterrent to war, might become an incitement to war and make it more probable instead of less."

Reaction in this country to the Atlantic Pact is varied. Acting Foreign Affairs Minister of the Nationalist Government George Yeh told the Chinese press that the pact would probably avert a third world war. A joint statement issued by leaders of the Chinese Communist party and various democratic parties and groupings condemned the Atlantic Pact as endangering the peace and security of mankind and aiming at provoking a new aggressive world war. It promised that the Chinese people would fight shoulder to shoulder with Soviet Russia if the Atlantic Pact signatories should dare start a reactionary war against the people of the world.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

New Hope

BEGINNING from its March 21 issue, the *New Hope Weekly* has printed a series of interesting and informative articles about the factional strife within the Kuomintang. Several paragraphs dealing with the CC clique are given below.

With regard to the origin of the CC clique, the magazine has this to say: "The CC clique began its life as an anti-Communist organization, in the form of a so-called AB (Anti-Bolshevik) group organized by KMT members in 1927. Later on, as the KMT organization became bigger and the control of the party became more centralized, the leading elements of the AB group were absorbed into the Organization Department of the KMT. Finally, the AB group was completely dissolved and its membership came under the control of the Chen brothers who were then in charge of the organization work of the KMT. In this sense, CC really meant 'Centralized Control' instead of the Chen brothers as is generally explained."

According to the magazine, the activities of the CC clique spread from party affairs to the political field. "In the beginning," it writes, "the clique was only absorbed in party affairs and cultural activities. In was only after 1930, after the defeat of Generals Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, that the CC clique extended their influence over political affairs. So far as numerical strength is concerned, the CC clique probably heads the list of the various factions inside the KMT. But its leadership is too poor, and talented people preferred to stay away because they did not like being bossed around. Chang Li-sheng, top-level leader of the CC clique, once significantly remarked that, when he was the Director of Organization of the KMT, he did not even have the authority to appoint or dismiss any of his low subordinates. The well-known Chow Fu-hai and Ting Mo-tsun, both of them high KMT officials who defected to the Japanese to become officials in the puppet Nanking regime, were all active members of the CC before they decided to desert. Others, like Huang Yu-jen who are now known for their scathing attacks against the CC in the Legislative Yuan, were also formerly followers of the Chen brothers and had been sent abroad by them for advanced training. Still others, like Chu Chia-hwa and Chang Li-sheng, though fostered within the folds of the CC, have now cut themselves loose and are wont to oppose the CC in all sorts of manners.

"First on the list of the CC's political enemies come the Communists, to be followed by the Political Science Group, and the Reformationists (the followers of Wang Ching-wei after the Nanking and Wu-han open rift).

"In its struggle against the Communists, the CC is waging an ideological war against the common enemy of all KMT cliques, but in its struggle with fellow KMT members, the matter boils down to be that of a 'struggle for power, or to be exact, for private interests."

The CC clique managed to control the Government through the machinery of the party but the mass recruiting of Government officials into the party has made the KMT become a loose organization, the magazine discloses.

"Under the principle that the party is all powerful, it has always been the goal of the CC to put everything under the control of the party," the article explains. "Accordingly, the rule was formulated that all public functionaries of the National Government must become members of the KMT. Also, it was stipulated that all officers of the armed forces have to be party members. A system of the so-called 'special registration of party members' was then set up to facilitate the entry of elite members of society into the KMT. This measure, however, by opening the door to numerous opportunistic warlords, bureaucrats and politicians who thus flocked into the KMT, had the effect of seriously undermining the strength of the party and of gradually bringing it to its present plight. Later on, the Central Training Corps was established as a means of inducting people into the KMT. Those who are given one month of training are supposed to become 'marginal' members, while those who go through six months of training in the 'senior training class' are absorbed into the nucleus of the party. But all in all, this practice has done more harm to the KMT than good, since the greater part of the people inducted into the party are opportunists who are only interested in their own political advancement, while a large number of men of real talent become alienated from the party."

The phenomenal success of the CC clique has been due to the fact that it has the blessing and strong backing of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the magaznie points out, saying:

"That the CC has always been able to have the upper hand in this political struggle is entirely due to the unshakable confidence of the 'Supreme Leader' in the loyalty of their clique, and is not due to any extraordinary skill or forsight as displayed by its members. It is solely on this account that Yang Yung-tai, the late all powerful chief of the Political Science Group, was not able to save himself from defeat, though he was in all respects much more capable and wise than the Chen brothers and though he, too, enjoyed the confidence of the Supreme Leader."

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Masses Weekly

LIN Shin-fu makes a detailed study in *Masses Weekly* of February 3, of the lessons of Chinese revolutions and comes to the conclusion that the present revolutionary movement in China is quite different from the revolutions of 1911 and 1926-27 in Chinese history.

"First," he says, "the historical characteristics of the present revolution are vastly different from the revolutions of the past. The Chinese revolution has developed to a point at which the relative strength of the revolution and counter-revolution has undergone a fundamental change. Today, the people's strength of the Chinese revolution, which is based on the proletariat and the peasantry in cooperation with the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, has far exceeded the strength of the counter-revolutionary landlords, bureaucrats and big bourgeoisie who are supported by American imperialists. The counter-revolution is well on the high road to destruction, while the revolution is marching forward by leaps and bounds....

"Second, the prevailing international situation is also different from what it was in 1911 and 1927. After the Second World War, the whole world split into two hostile political camps as the result of the attempts made by American imperialism to dominate the whole world and invade the countries in both Europe and Asia. The line-up is quite clear. One side is headed by the United States, comprising the British, French and other imperialists. The other is led by Soviet Russia, comprising the new democracies in Eastern Europe and the revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the Orient. The former is an anti-democratic imperialistic united front; the latter, an anti-imperialistic democratic united front. Because of the post-war political and economic trouble in Britain and France and the United States, it is impossible for the imperialists to act in concert against the Chinese revolution. The rapid growth of reconstruction in Soviet Russia and other Eastern European countries has added to the strength of the world revolution, which is also superior to the global counter-revolution. This is favorable to the Chinese revolution.

"Third, the Chinese Communists who are leading the Chinese revolution are no longer inexperienced and incompetent. On the contrary, the Chinese Communists have become hard-boiled, well-tried and thoroughly efficient, with Mao Tze-tung at the helm. This is another guarantee for ultimate victory."

US Magazine Roundup

Foreign Policy Report

A SIGNIFICANT analysis of the North Atlantic Defense Pact is carried in the February 15 issue of *Foreign Policy Reports* published by the Foreign Policy Association. The study contains pertinent facts regarding the background of the pact, written by Blair Bolles, and a discussion of the pros and cons, contributed by Vera Micheles Dean.

In outlining the background of the pact, Mr. Bolles recalls that the idea of a military alliance between the United States and Great Britain was first suggested by Winston Churchill in his Fulton, Missouri, speech on March 6, 1946 and received a cold reception at that time. With British Foreign Secretary Bevin's proposal in January, 1948, for the formation of a Western Union consisting of France, England and the Benelux countries, however, and the developments in Czechoslovakia that February, the traditional American antipathy toward military alliances began to dissolve, he points out.

The ice was broken for official American action on an Atlantic Pact with the passage by the Senate on June 11, 1948, of the Vandenberg Resolution proposing that the United States pursue international peace and security by the "progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense"

"Encouraged by the resolution," Mr. Bolles writes, "the State Department in July initiated conversations with the Brussels powers and Canada" and on December 10 started negotiations on the Atlantic treaty.

From here on Mrs. Dean takes over. In the eyes of the State Department, she writes, "the core of the case for the pact" is that "if world recovery is to progress.... 'the sense of security must be restored.'" Therefore, "the North Atlantic defense pact, backed by integration of the armed forces of Western European nations furnished with American armaments either as outright gift or on terms of lend-lease, is a necessary corollary of the European Recovery Program."

Those who question this thesis, she continues, "raise two principal arguments. Some contend that the military program envisaged under the North Atlantic defense pact would have an effect exactly contrary to that desired by Washington, since the necessity of diverting existing economic resources to armaments would delay, and perhaps actually jeopardize fulfillment of the European Recovery Program, both by reducing the amount of American and Western European manpower and materials available for peacetime production, and by making it politically difficult to achieve the revival of East-West trade on the continent which was one of the basic assumptions of the countries benefiting by the Marshall plan. Others believe that it will prove impossible to restore the sense of security.... until Russian troops....are withdrawn from Germany and Austria, and therefore urge, instead, negotiations with the USSR for a general or at least partial settlement on the continent."

The State Department, Mrs. Dean says, answers the first of these arguments by giving economic recovery priority over rearmament. However, she points out, opponents of the pact contend that "the very process of rearmament will generate fears which still further rearmament will be needed to allay, creating a mounting spiral of expenditures in which military estimates will prevail over considerations of economic and social recovery."

No direct answer, she says, to the second argument — the need for a general settlement with the USSR — has been given by the State Department, "whose basic premise is that the activities of the Soviet Government since the war have endangered peace and prevented recovery."

The factor that is counted on to provide American public support for the pact, Mrs. Dean writes, is that it safeguards the American "constitutional process" by leaving in the hands of Congress the power to declare war. "This very feature, however," she notes, "arouses the most serious objections on the part of the nations of Western Europe" who realize they are taking the risk of antagonizing Russia and want to be sure of automatic US action in return.

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For Or Against UN?

NEXT comes the question of the United Nations. The State Department, Mrs. Dean says, maintains that the pact is in harmony with the UN by virtue of Articles 51 and 52 in the Charter. Article 51 provides that "Nothing.... shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." Article 52 says that "Nothing ... precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action.. consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations." In this connection, Mrs. Dean recalls that the subject of regional arrangements came up at both the Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco conferences with regard to regional agreements already in existence in the Western Hemisphere and the "problems that might arise if the former enemy states should resort to aggression during the transitional period before peace treaties had been concluded and responsibility for keeping the peace had been transferred to the United Nations Organization." Chapter VIII of the Charter was drafted with these problems in mind, she says, and contains article 52.

Mrs. Dean quotes "a distinguished international law expert, Hans Kelsen," as saying that Article 51 was intended to be "a provisional and temporary measure" to be used "until" the Security Council took appropriate action and "not as a substitute for it." Therefore, she says, it has been argued that any pact such as the Atlantic one should be "firmly and unmistakably subordinated to the authority of the Security Council." Otherwise, the veto power possessed by the US, Britain and France might conceivably be used "to prevent direct action by the Security Council."

"A second major objection to the North Atlantic pact," Mrs. Dean writes, "is raised by those who wonder how such a pact would affect the position of the colony-owning nations of Western Europe in their relations to the dependent peoples of Asia. Would the United States, it is asked, in underwriting the security and economic recovery of Western Europe, be expected also to underwrite the status quo in Indonesia, Indo-China, Malaya, and other colonial areas, whose present condition of unrest has a direct impact on the security and on the economies of Britain, France and the Netherlands? Will the nations of Western Europe be free to use the arms they may receive from the United States to subdue native uprisings?"

Closely related to this, she says, "is the question whether the security of nations can be defended solely by military means against external threats or external aggression, or whether the main problem some nations face is the possibility of internal upheavals....There is danger ....that the fear of instability and disorder understandably generated in the United States by the desire to see the ERP succeed within the time limit of four years set for it may cause some Americans to favor the maintenance of existing regimes and economic and social conditions, and to consider any attempt to alter the existing state of affairs as defiance of ERP. The intimate linking of ERP with rearmament might then conceivably induce the United States to permit the countries benefiting by American aid to use their armaments for the suppression of internal disorders."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE Army attack on students in Nanking and the formal opening of peace talks in Peiping were main topics of editorial comment in the Chinese press. The signing of the Atlantic Pact in Washington also drew some comment.

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Nanking Tragedy

IN commenting on the Nanking Incident, the *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, official organ of the Kuomintang, advised the students to take into consideration the extreme gravity of the current situation and refrain from "making trouble."

"It is incumbent on the young students themselves to treasure the great sympathy which the public exhibits for them, and therefore to be constantly awake to the need of reviewing their own actions," the paper said. "Today the situation is too critical. On the one hand, the peace talks are being begun, but on the other hand, the Communist Army north of the Yangtze is steadily pointing its gun toward the south and advancing by degrees. . .

"Every one who looks forward to the realization of peace must, therefore, value the present precarious moment, and seek to promote real peace with a cool head, by differentiating right from wrong, and investigating carefully the various issues involved in the peace movement. Violent propaganda efforts which are only partial to the interests of one party and blind rabble-rousing can only confuse issues and mess up the main problems. Unnecessary demonstrations can only give rise to unfavorable reaction from the people and do the cause of peace more harm than good. Young people are emotional and easily excited. Since the student movement of the past two or three years has produced unfavorable impressions and repercussions, the students should do some hard thinking and should increase their sense of self-awakening."

The Nanking incident drew a sharply-worded editorial from the Communist *New China News Agency*. A summary of the editorial, as printed in several papers in Shanghai, is given below:

"The Nanking Student Tragedy of April 1 once more shows to the Chinese people that it is impossible to expect the Kuomintang war criminals to repent and lay down their arms. The Nanking tragedy tells the Chinese people once more that any attitude of leniency and protection in dealing with this group of war criminals will only mean that peace in China will not be realized. The Nanking tragedy further tells the Chinese people once more that if the Chinese people are to fight for their existence, to fight for their freedom, and to fight for peace, they must be determined to proceed thoroughly and completely with the task of wiping out this group of war criminals. The Nanking tragedy makes it clear that the eight conditions for the realization of real peace, as brought up by Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and primarily the first condition for the punishment of war criminals, cannot permit of any revision. . . .

"The occurrence of the Nanking tragedy at such a time and at such a locality as it did cannot but lead us to question the Nanking Peace Delegation: Where is the 'peace' advocated by your Government? The fact is that the Nanking reactionary and traiforous government from which the Delegation comes has seriously violated the basic conditions of the peace negotiations. . . .

"Since Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on January 14 brought up the eight conditions for the realization of real and permanent peace, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has been patiently waiting for two and a half months. But the facts have now shown that this attitude of patient waiting has not changed in the least the attitude of the reactionary and traitorous Nanking Government. It has not made it lay down its weapon of slaughter. The group of assassins in Nanking have now used the Nanking tragedy as a challenge to the people of China and the People's Liberation Army. Yes, the Liberation Army will liberate the whole of China. The Liberation Army is now preparing to cross the Yangtze, to mop up all assassins of the people. The time is not distant when the patriots who have been sacrificed in the Nanking and other tragedies will be revenged. The time is not distant when the Kiangnan areas and the whole of China will be liberated."

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Peace Talks

IN discussing the peace negotiations in Peiping, all Kuomintang-controlled papers joined in demanding that the Communists order an immediate cease-fire and suspend their war preparations.

The *Chung Yang Jih Pao wrote*:

". . . To promote peace it is necessary that a peaceful atmosphere be cultivated. If the Communists are really sincere in seeking peace today, they should immediately suspend military operations, halt their propaganda offensive, and cease all underground activities. The present peace talks affect the fate of the nation and the lives of the people, as well as the future of our State. The people throughout the country unanimously demand that the peace talks must be successful and that failure cannot be permitted. Violent propaganda outbursts will only obstruct sane thinking and clear understanding, and lead to unfavorable reactions from the people."

The *Shun Pao* agreed: "If the peace talks are to succeed, immediate suspension of all military operations should be the first prerequisite."

But on the other hand the same papers asked the Government to strengthen its war preparations south of the Yangtze. The *Chung Yang Jih Pao* emphasized the importance of the defense of Yangtze, while the *Ho Ping Jih Pao*, generally regarded as mouthpiece of the Nationalist army, explained that making war preparations do not run counter to talking peace.

"To be prepared for war and to attend actively to the defense of the Yangtze really do not conflict with the peace efforts," the paper said. "Instead, such measures will be helpful to the peace cause. It is obvious that once our defense of the Yangtze is successfully taken care of, the peace terms of the Communists will not be so harsh, and hopes for peace will grow. Moreover, if the Communists cannot cross the Yangtze, they cannot fight even if they want to, and they will have to cease hostilities even if they do not want to. As long as the Communists are prevented from crossing the Yangtze, the Government may continue to be on the defensive and not cross the river for a counter-offensive. In such a case, the war will automatically cease to exist, and peace will follow."

* * *

Atlantic Pact

ON the occasion of the signing of the Atlantic Pact, the *Ta Kung Pao* called upon all peace-loving people to strengthen their fight for safeguarding world peace.

"Basically, the Atlantic Pact discards the machinery of the United Nations and openly adopts a policy of military expansion," the paper said. "It must also be noticed that the foreign ministers of West Europe, during their present visit to the United States to sign the Pact, are also taking the opportunity to discuss the measures for the fostering of Germany, the suspension of the dismantling of the war industry plants in Germany, and the removal of restrictions over Franco's Spain. At the same time, the United States is discussing measures for military aid to Europe. All these developments show that the threat of a new war is growingly imminent. All the people throughout the world who are opposed to war must awaken to the situation and rise to safeguard peace."

What US Papers Say

THE current peace talk and the future of Christianity under Chinese communism was discussed in the US press. Other comment dealt with the recent cultural and scientific conference on world peace held in New York.

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Christianity In China

THE *Christian Science Monitor*, in an editorial entitled "Christianity and Communism in Asia," said:

"Since common ownership of property in the early Christian community broke down through the weight of human greed, Christians have recognized in varying degrees that their 'kingdom' was not of this world. It could be brought into human affairs only through individual regeneration and gradual social improvements following from more Christian lives.

"But social improvements have often been slow in coming. In Asia, for instance, the effects of Western exploitation have sometimes been more evident than the effects of Western Christianity. Even Christians of the East are asking whether a new social system may not be necessary."

The *Monitor* then referred to a letter written by T. C. Chao, dean of the School of Religion at Yenching University and one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches, which was published recently in the *Christian Century*. The *Monitor* says the letter "speaks of the rejoicing of Chinese Christian at being 'liberated' by the Communists from the Kuomintang regime" and quotes it as saying:

"An unexpected thing has been the speed with which the Communists win and Kuomintang forces fall to pieces. No thoughtful Christian in China can regard this unexpected speed without a deep sense of gratitude to God. Collapse of the Kuomintang armies means cessation of war, which is very much desired by all, while it causes Communists to reconsider their policies and to become moderate . . .

"Religion will be indeed hated and despised, but also tolerated; and religion will be in need of a sort of peaceful persecution to emerge from cultus to reality . . . To my mind, we Christians in China are facing a most creative period of witness-bearing. One is thrilled at the dangers and opportunities confronting Christianity in mingled proportions."

The *Monitor* comments: "Christians in the West may not take so ebullient a view. The Christianity which hopes to cooperate with dogmatic Communism may be in for sad disillusionment. But there is a tremendous challenge to Western Christians in this new development.

"For Communist successes do indeed call for 'a creative period of witness-bearing.' Christianity has spiritual substance—as Communism has only delusive shadow—of the justice, the security, freedom of spirit for which the world's millions long. Let Christians increasingly translate into social action the love they are taught for the poor and dispossessed of the earth and they will increasingly win those millions to their side.

"Asia is a great laboratory today. Western Christendom can hold out to it a real and practical hope for more abundant life. Here is the best answer to the Communist challenge and Christian confusion there."

* * *

Peace Talks

THE *New York Times* took a pessimistic view of the current peace talks in Peiping, voicing the opinion that, since the Nationalists have no chance to come out on top, they should be called "capitulation" conferences. The paper said:

"There is little reason to be optimistic about the 'peace' conference that opened in China April 1. If Nanking's delegates make an honest effort to reach a genuine compromise of differences they will fail. And the alternative is outright surrender. Indeed, the preliminaries that led to the choice of the Nanking delegation, coupled with the daily insistence of the Communist North China radio that the only basis for discussion was the eight-point program of Mao Tze-tung, invite the suggestion that 'peace' conference is a misnomer. 'Capitulation' conference would be more accurate.

"The Nanking delegates were apparently under few illusions. They described themselves as at the edge of a bottomless abyss. Even more pessimistic was their assertion that no insurmountable difficulties need be faced, if there were 'mutual confidence, mutual understanding and mutual concessions.' Those delegates are all old enough and worldly wise enough to know that to speak of mutuality in confidence, understanding and concessions in respect to a conference with the Chinese, or any other, Communists, is to employ a contradiction in terms.

"Repeatedly, the Communist radio has insisted that it has no confidence in Nanking, nothing but contempt rather than understanding, for Nanking's leaders, and no disposition to make concessions, mutual or otherwise. Even after the standard discount for propaganda is made, there is no reason to be hopeful that any 'mutuality' will be seen, except in the strictly Communist version. And that version has been observed in some detail elsewhere.

"There is likewise no good augury in the fact that Communists have clamped down the 'bamboo curtain' of secrecy. It is a mistake to talk about 'censorship' in Communist China. There isn't a censorship, because there is nothing to censor. The press and the public will not be represented at any stage or in any degree in the negotiations. What the world finally learns about what happened will presumably be what the Chinese Communists think it ought to learn.

"These have been sorry days for the Republic of China. And few have been sorrier than that on which these Nanking delegates go before their conquerors and their judges to discuss the terms of their sentence."

* * *

Cultural Conference

THE *Philadelphia Inquirer* supported the State Department's assertion that the cultural and scientific conference for world peace held recently in New York was a "sounding board for Communist propaganda." The paper declared:

"Our thoughts—our efforts—are directed toward peace. But we have learned, and we must not forget, that while Russia's spokesmen shout about peace, they are putting baleful pressure on Iran, looming threateningly over Finland and spying upon every free country on the globe. Americans should keep their minds free of needless fears about all this, preserve their strength and their will to defend themselves and make Russia's acts, not words, the only basis of judgment about what the Soviet Union really stands for.

The *Christian Science Monitor* expressed belief that the meeting only caused "confusion." The paper said:

"Perhaps only political innocents could have expected this sort of thing to promote peace. Americans can, by frank questioning of national policies, help to shape them toward peace. But similar criticisms from men who strain at gnats of Democratic failings but swallow camels of totalitarian oppression are little likely to foster either reform or good will. . . .

"This meeting sought to promote the kind of 'peace' desired by those who say: 'We must cooperate. It is just a matter of good will and tolerance.' But on that kind of peace we should have liked to hear from those who have been liquidated in countries taken over by Communists when America was 'cooperating.' . . .

"This kind of performance makes for confusion. Where there is so little room for real dissent and where even non Communists are so concerned about Democracy's faults, some may be led to believe that America is preparing to attack Russia. But free discussion should clear the air. We don't believe the men in the Politburo are so befogged or naive."

The Review's English Lesson—LXXVII

MR. Al. L. Chen suggested that we discuss a *Time* Magazine story, from the March 7 issue, concerning President Truman, titled "Another Think Coming." Unfortunately, there is not enough space to reprint the whole story, so we shall try to explain some of the expressions used, as usual:

Another think coming: A slangy phrase used to describe someone who has guessed wrong, who anticipates something which will not happen; it is usually contemptuous. "If he thinks I'm going to wait all day, he's got another think coming."

Off-the-cuff: Extempore, as a speech.

Nostalgic: Homesick.

Smart-aleck: Smug, self-satisfied with own cleverness; smarty.

Move on: This phrase can be used in two ways: the first, in its literal sense, to go on, forward, ahead; the second, to describe committee action or decision. It is not clear from the context as given ("And when it is time for them (members of my staff) to be moved on, I do the moving....") whether the meaning is to decide which persons are wanted on the staff, or to decide which are to be discharged (i.e., moved on somewhere else).

Blair House: A house near the White House, which is used to receive distinguished visitors; sometimes referred to as the "Little White House."

Ineffectual gesture: A move or action that has no result; also, empty gesture. Sweeping the sea, or commanding the tides to stand still, are ineffectual gestures.

Cracking: (Also crackling), as used in "cracking over the telegraph wires," is an onomatopoetic word, describing the sound of the electric sparks.

Contrite: Showing sorrow or regret for having committed a fault; repentant.

Tentative: Of the nature of an experiment; something offered provisionally.

The Word That Came to Dinner: This is a paraphrase of the title of a comedy that had a long and successful run in the United States. It describes the sufferings caused an innocent family by an irascible celebrity, who came to their home for dinner, slipped and injured himself and was forced to remain in the household until well enough to move. Thus, as used here, it indicates that the unpleasant phrase made such a stir that it could not be quietly forgotten.

Sedate: Quiet, calm, serene, serious, staid.

Gamy: Highly-flavored; gamy language includes highly colored expressions which often are not admitted in so-called polite society. Also, "racy."

Clucked: Literally, made noises like a hen. Since the sounds sometimes made by a person in reprimanding a younger one, for example, are similar, anyone who "clucks" admonishes or chides. Thus, in "the papers clucked about it on their editorial pages," the image is of a flock of fussy old hens, being most upset at some action or statement, and reproving its author.

Cautious: To give cautious approval is to approve so carefully, with so many "ifs, ands and buts", that its force is weakened. In somewhat similar fashion, the phrase "damn with faint praise" means to approve so cautiously, and with so many reservations, that the effect is one of disapproval.

Showman: A producer of plays, operas, etc. As used in the story, the meaning is extended to refer to a columnist, considered by the writer to be interested only in attracting publicity.

Hardy: Bold, brave, resolute, confident, strong, firm, long-enduring. The "hardy expert on the burning word" referred to, H. L. Mencken, has long been one of the most outspoken journalists in America.

Burning word: Here used to refer to profane expressions, insults, gamy language.

Complained, complains: In referring to a statement made in a book, either the present or the past tense would seem correct, depending upon whether the writer refers to the moment when the author set his words down (past tense), or the moment when the reader sees the same words (present tense).

Fudge: Nonsense, piffle, when used as an interjection; usually cited in derision, as being sissified.

Sis-boom-ah: A college football cheer in the US; hence, anything with sis-boom-ah has spirit, verve, enthusiasm, drive.

* * *

THE following sentence, with which Mr. Mencken is quoted as continuing his remarks upon the phrase that caused the uproar, we quote in full: "Put the second person pronoun and the adjective *old* in front of it and scarcely enough bounce is left in it to shake up an archdeacon." The phrase then becomes, "You old sŏn of a bitch."

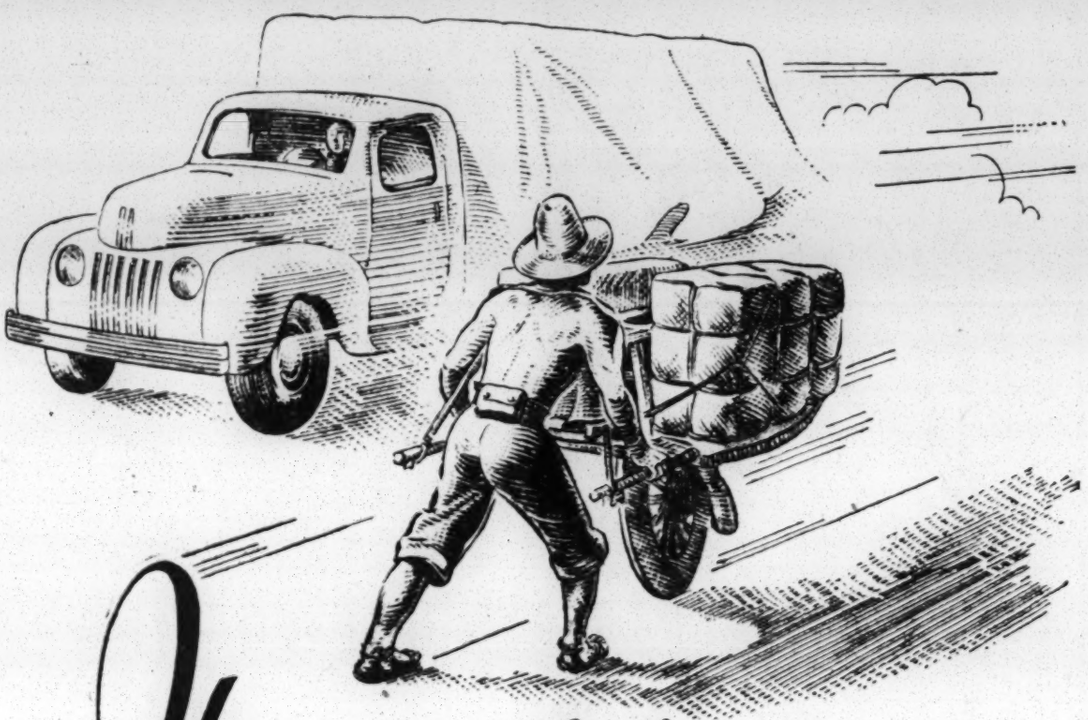
Bounce: Bouyancy, verve, drive, energy.

Shake up an archdeacon: Amaze or unsettle a church official who is next in rank below a bishop. In other words, Mr. Mencken says that the phrase, as amended, has little in it to amaze or shock, probably because it is often used jocularly.

Opprobrious: Attaching disgrace; as, an opprobrious epithet.

* * *

WE are asked to recommend some of the best magazines devoted to English Language and literature published in the US. This is a difficult question to answer, since there are scholarly periodicals which deal with fine points of grammar and philology, there are good journals for a more general interest, written well, and there are journals, such as *Time* Magazine or the *New Yorker* which have developed a style of their own. Of the more general type, *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly* are among the best as far as the quality of the language is concerned. The *Saturday Review of Literature* is perhaps the best single source for anyone wishing to keep abreast of American literature.



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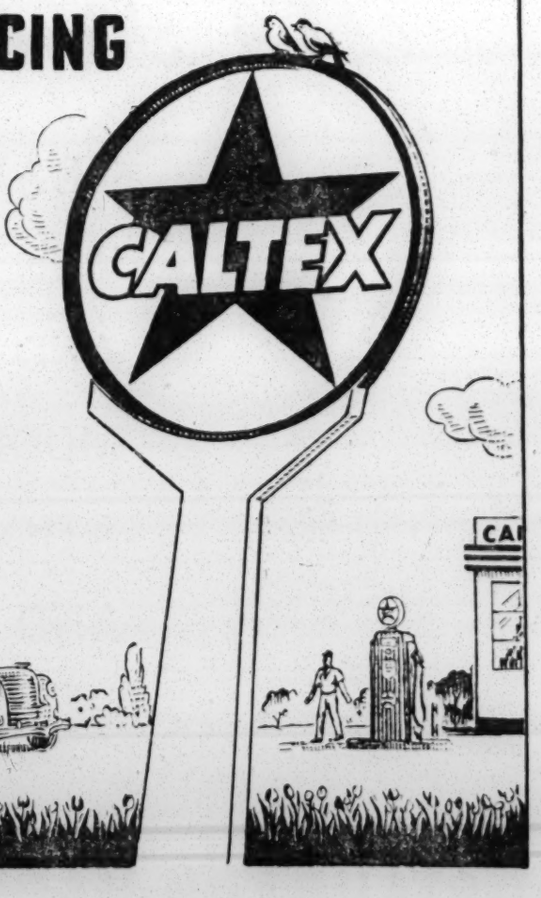

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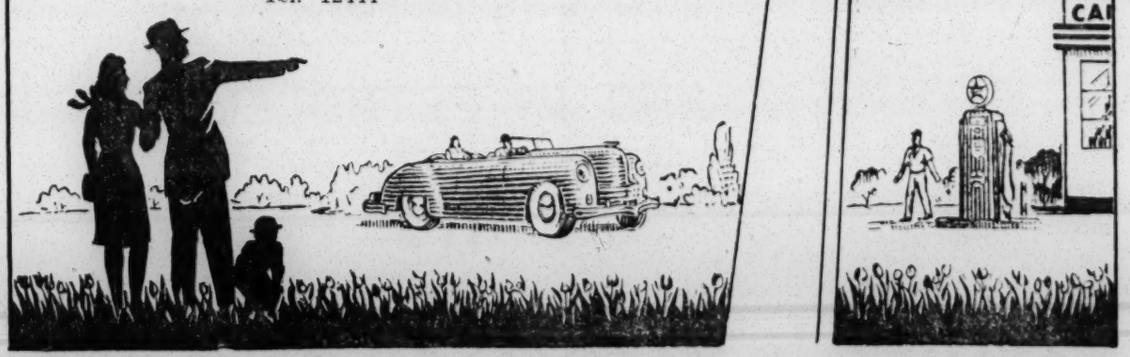

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